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To collect data on how to make television a more effective learning instrument outside of the classroom, a standard probability sample with quotas consisting of 200 adults and 200 adolescents living in New York City was interviewed to study how people use TV, their attitudes toward various types of programing, and their viewing preferences. Designed to exclude light viewers, the interview schedule featured questions on viewing habits, relevance of TV to personal problems, audience preferences in news coverage, and entertainment vs. information. An attempt was made to correlate opinion with variables of age (by describing TV use among adolescents), class, race (by describing the effects of white television in the black community), emotional health (as judged by the respondents), and frequency of viewing. Such variables influence the choice of a network newscaster (Huntley-Brinkley, Cronkite, or Jennings), the selective perception of news and editorial content, and the taste for reality or fantasy in hypothetical programs. Characteristics of the sample, the interview schedule, and attitude data from East Harlem residents are appended to the text. (TI)

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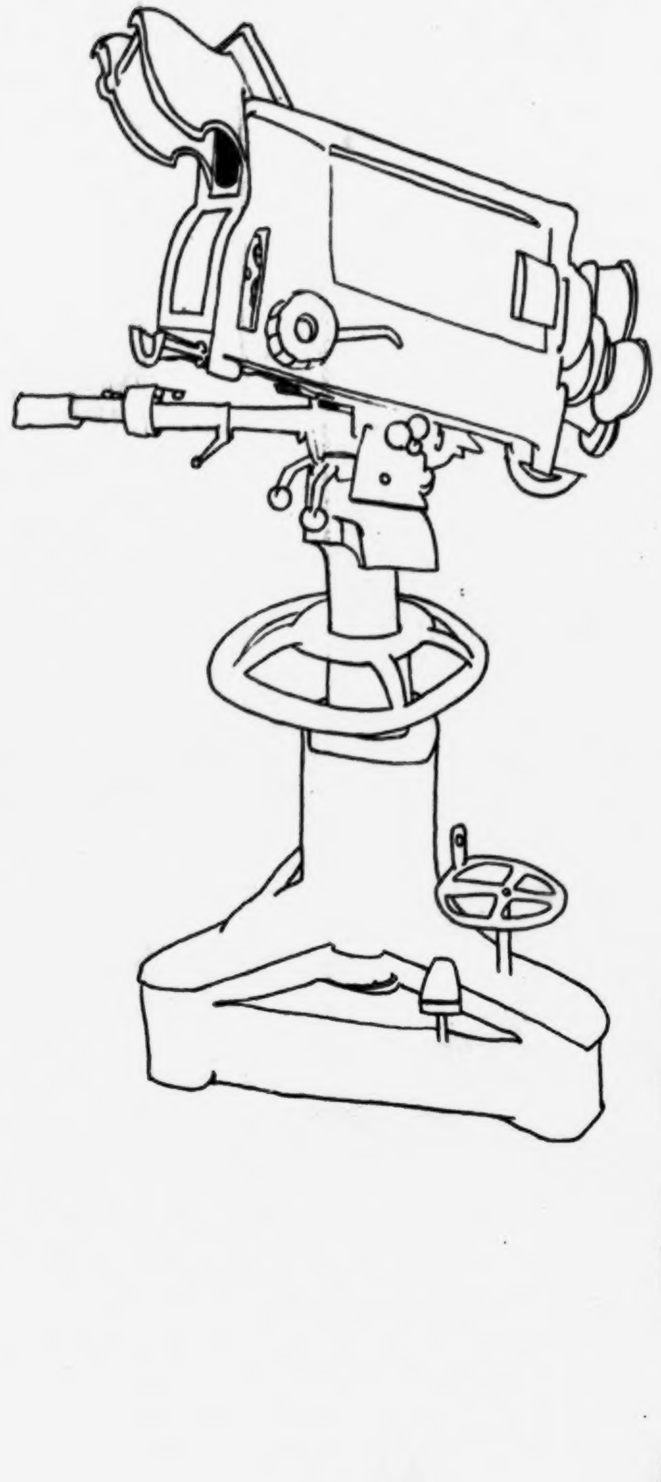

THE USES OF TELEVISION AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS:

Preliminary Findings From a Survey of Adult and Adolescent New York Television Viewers

by Herbert J. Gans

June 1968

The Center for Urban Education

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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THE USES OF TELEVISION AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS: PRELIMINARY FINDINGS FROM A SURVEY OF ADULT AND ADOLESCENT NEW YORK TELEVISION VIEWERS

Herbert J. Gans

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INTRODUCTION: THE PURPOSES AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

This report describes some results of a sample survey of New York TV viewers, conducted in April and May 1967, on the uses they made of entertainment and news programs. The study rests on the assumption that people of all ages learn a great deal as they watch television, particularly entertainment programs, and that TV and the other mass media may be more effective educational agencies than the schools.*

The study did not attempt to test this assumption directly, for we felt that an interview survey would not reveal much about learning from TV. Since such learning probably takes place without the viewer being aware of it, we did not expect him to be able to tell us what he learned, particularly in an interview survey; whatever a person learns depends on what he already knows, and this would be impossible to evaluate through a survey.

Instead, we attempted to discover how people used television, what attitudes they had toward various types of television programming, and what their preferences for some alternative kinds of TV programming were. We felt their answers would provide some preliminary data on how people learned from TV and what could be done to make TV a more effective educational instrument. Thus, we asked people whether they used TV to ward off depression and we also asked them whether they had found TV helpful in solving personal problems or making decisions about them. In order to get at people's attitudes, we asked them how they felt about a TV newscaster's opinions on world issues and what they would do if they disagreed with him; we also asked how they perceived his opinions and how these compared to their own views. To get at people's preferences, we asked them not so much what they wanted, but what choices they would make when presented with hypothetical alternatives.

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*This assumption is discussed in detail in Herbert J. Gans, "The Mass Media as an Educational Institution," Urban Review, Vol. 2, (February 1967), pp. 5-14.

A large number of questions dealt with the uses of TV news, because news and public affairs broadcasting generally comes closest to the informational aspects of education, at least for adults. Moreover, we felt that respondents would find it easier to answer questions about program alternatives for news programs than for entertainment programs, for the latter must surprise at least to some extent, in order to entertain, and it is much more difficult therefore, to ask people about alternative entertainment programs.

Because the Center for Urban Education is primarily concerned with the education of children, we decided to ask these questions of adolescents aged 14 to 19, as well as of adults. We chose adolescents because we felt that they would be more easily interviewed than younger children, particularly with a short interview schedule, and also because Arthur Brodbeck, who drew up part of the interview schedule, was particularly interested in this age group.

The study was conducted as a sample survey, using an interview schedule with predominantly pre-coded questions. The interview schedule, which is included as Appendix B, was formulated by Herbert Gans and Arthur Brodbeck, with the assistance of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). NORC constructed and chose the sample, pretested the schedule, carried out the interviewing and coded most of the answers.

(Responses to the open-ended questions were coded by Brodbeck and Gans.) Abacus Associates tabulated the data and provided the cross-tabulations which are analyzed in this report. The analysis presented here is by Gans; most of it is based on the questions formulated by the author, although where relevant some of Brodbeck's questions have also been analyzed.

The sample was really two separate samples, consisting of 200 adults and 200 adolescents (aged 14 to 19 and living with their parents) in the five boroughs of New York City. The sample was a standard probability sample with quotas; NORC selected a random sample of clusters of blocks in New York City, using the 1960 Census information and a table of random numbers, and in each cluster interviewers were instructed to interview a quota of people by age, sex, and employment status that would make the population representative of that found in New York City by the 1960 Census. For each sample of 200 people, NORC picked 40 clusters; five people in each cluster were interviewed.

The sample is thus not a random sample of the city's population, but a random sample of its adults, and a random sample of its adolescents. The sample was drawn in two separate parts because a single random sample would not have given us enough adolescents to interview. Moreover, although the five boroughs include some suburban and quasi-suburban neighborhoods, and clusters from these appeared in the sample, the population studied includes only people living within the city limits, and leaves out the suburbanites altogether. It is not totally representative of New York City either, for the sample was based on the 1960 Census, at least with respect to age and sex, and employment status for women.

However, no quota instructions were given for income or race, so that the samples are probably representative of the city's class and racial distribution today.

Consequently, we can say that the results are applicable to all New Yorkers, but of course they are not applicable to the country as a whole. New Yorkers are probably somewhat better educated, more liberal, and more cosmopolitan than many other Americans, and their use of TV may thus differ from that of other Americans. Moreover, since the study was made with two separately selected samples, findings cannot be reported, properly speaking, for the sample as a whole, since the population it represents is not made up of 50 per cent adolescents and 50 per cent adults. Although occasionally findings are combined and reported for the two samples as one, in order to present a quick overview of the data, it should be emphasized that there is no such single sample.

Two further caveats: First, the interview schedule was designed to exclude nonviewers and very light TV viewers. The interviewer began by saying, "I would like to talk to a person who watches about three or more hours of TV a week not counting Saturday and Sunday." If the person to be interviewed in that household - as determined by NORC's quota sampling - watched TV less often than that or not at all, the interview was terminated. Consequently, the study results apply only to people who watch at least three hours of TV during the week, and do not consider non-viewers, light viewers, or non-owners of TV sets. (We do have some data on non-viewers of specific programs, for the sample includes people who watched three hours a week, but never watched news programs.) It is also possible that the study excluded entirely the people who watch only TV news programs and nothing else, for unless they watched at least two news programs a day and watched them every day, their total weekly TV viewing would not have reached our threshold of three hours. I doubt, however, that there are many such persons in the TV audiences, for as our data show, only a small proportion of our two samples said they watched only the news.

The decision to leave out the very light viewers and non-viewers was made because our study dealt with how people used TV, and the questions could not be answered by people who did not watch TV at all. As some of the findings indicate, people who never watch TV news have quite different opinions than those who do watch, although curiously enough, their opinions were often closest to people who watched TV news regularly, rather than only occasionally.

Second, any interview study is only as good as the questions used in the schedule, and the findings are of course only responses to the particular questions that were asked. Although we pre-tested the schedule to make certain that the questions asked what we wanted to know, and redrafted it several times before and after the pre-test, our findings are still only the answers to the questions we asked, and cannot reveal, as can observational studies, how people really used TV, and what attitudes they really have toward TV. We could only obtain their responses to questions; we cannot know for certain that they ventured the same attitudes when talking with family members or friends, and that they were really excited or depressed by TV as often as they said they were.

The results of the study are reported in four parts. Part I is a general summary of the findings, and a discussion of their implications for school and out-of-school education. It was written for the general reader who is not particularly interested in the detailed statistical data. Parts II-IV present these data: Part II deals with the use of TV in general, particularly in regard to entertainment programming; Part III describes the use of TV news; and Part IV discusses audience preferences and choices of hypothetical program alternatives. A description of the characteristics of the two samples is included as Appendix A.

One final note. This report is based on a preliminary analysis of the data, and is therefore only a preliminary description of the findings. Moreover, its intent was to identify as many findings as possible from more than a thousand cross-tabulations. Since no statistical tests were run, many of the percentage differences reported may not be statistically significant. I have nevertheless reported them, but only if they formed part of a more general pattern, or if there was clear evidence of a linear relationship. When differences form a pattern but are small - i.e., when there is only a 10-15 per cent difference between one cell and another - I have usually indicated that there is only some difference, or that differences are small and slight. On further examination, some of the findings may turn out to have been the result of chance.

I am indebted to Gladys Engel Lang and Erwin Gordon for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this report. I am also indebted to the Bullitt Foundation of Seattle, which has been providing support to me for a separate study of how the national news media cover the news.

CHAPTER I: SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

THE USES OF TELEVISION

Viewing Habits

Three-fourths of both groups of respondents watched TV nearly every day, and the median number of viewing hours during the week was 12 (excluding weekends). Entertainment programs were vastly more popular than informational programs, such as news and documentaries. Informational programs were chosen as favorites more often by college-educated respondents. When asked to make an overall evaluation of TV fare, about a third of adolescents said that they liked most or "a great many" of the programs they saw; a quarter liked only a few; and the rest said "hardly any."

Relevance of TV to Personal Problems and Decisions

Slightly over a third of the respondents said they had found TV helpful "in understanding a personal problem or in making a decision about something." While most people indicated that TV provided them with additional information about a problem or a decision, few said that it helped them make a different decision than they would otherwise have m made, or that it changed their mind about a problem or decision. Respondents found entertainment programs to be helpful as often as informational programs, and although they said they would be interested in watching advice programs run by a psychologist or psychiatrist, they found entertainment programs more helpful than existing advice programs. Indeed, some people said that they had gotten help from observing a dramatic character - frequently in a soap opera - coping with a problem that also bothered them. Even so, not many people thought TV could be helpful with personal or familial problems, and many of the personal problems with which the medium had been helpful concerned things like beauty care or warnings against drug use. Still, two-thirds of the respondents agreed that TV gives some illustrations "about how to live our lives," although only 25 per cent agreed that it gave a lot of such illustrations.

A larger proportion found TV helpful for emotional relief than for understanding a personal problem. Slightly over half of the combined samples responded positively to the question: ""Do you ever turn on the TV to help you get over feeling blue or a bad mood?" and of course comedy programs and variety shows were the favorite medicine. A much higher proportion,82 per cent, said that they had felt "especially good or cheerful because of a TV program [they] watched," and they pointed to the same kinds of programs as they used for overcoming depression. Sixty per cent said that they had seen something on TV that was "really exciting," although respondents defined excitement in different ways; the college-educated adults were excited by seeing serious drama well done; the viewers with 0-12 years of education found science fiction programs particularly exciting. About half the respondents also said that TV sometimes made them feel blue, particularly the people who used it as an anti-depressant.

Memories of TV watching are tricky, and undoubtedly people are more likely to say "yes" to questions such as these than to say "no." Even so, the data indicate that TV may sometimes be useful for overcoming depression, and that it can sometimes move its viewers. However, only 6 per cent of the respondents said that TV appeared in their dreams very often; another 11 per cent said sometimes, and 41 per cent each said hardly ever and never. If people can recall the frequency with which they dream about a TV program, or rather, the frequency with which they remember such dreams, and if they respond honestly about their recall, these data seem to indicate that TV does not appear in viewers' dreams very frequently.

The Use of TV News

While two-thirds of the respondents watched TV nearly every day, considerably fewer watched TV news. Thirty-eight per cent said they watched one of the three evening network news programs nearly every day; 41 per cent watched one of the shorter station news programs that come on during all parts of the day. Indeed, they watched TV news programs less often than they read the national and international news in a daily newspaper, for 57 per cent of the respondents said they read such news nearly every day. People who read the newspapers more often were likely to watch TV news less often, and people who watched TV news more often spent less time with the papers. The network news programs were more popular with women, white and blue collar workers, and the people with 12 years of schooling or less than with men, professionals, and the college-educated, who relied more on the newspapers for their news. Regular network news viewers were also likely to watch one of the station news broadcasts regularly, although among the audience for such programs also included people who watched network news never or only rarely.

These data suggest, however, that neither network nor station TV news programs seem to play an important role in people's lives: 55 per cent of the respondents said they would be bothered hardly at all if they could not watch the network news programs for several weeks; 71 per cent said this about the station news programs; only 19 per cent and 15 per cent would be bothered a great deal.

In deciding which station newscast to watch, about three-fifths determined their choice on the basis of factors having nothing to do with the news. Instead, they watch because of the time the program is on, and the channel to which they are tuned (either because it is their favorite channel or because they have watched or will watch a favorite entertainment program on it). About a quarter watched it because of some quality of the newscaster, and a handful because they considered the news content of the program superior to that of its competitors. In the case of network news programs, 50 per cent of the choices were based on time and channel considerations, 5 per cent on news content, and almost half on some quality of the newscaster. The primary newscaster qualities mentioned most often can be described as news skill, (being a good gatherer of news), and communication skill, (being a good teller or reporter of the news); somewhat fewer were attracted by the personality of the newscaster. By and large, the reasons respondents gave for choosing one network over another were the same for all three network newscasts, although some age and class differences existed among viewers of the various newscasters.

Since we were interested in determining whether people "learn" from the newscasters they watch, we asked them how they perceived their favorite newscaster's opinions on three controversial issues and his political party preference. We then compared the perceptions to their own opinions and party preferences. Although the newscasters strive to be neutral in their coverage, few respondents thought they were neutral, and on issues on which the newscaster had taken a public stand in speeches, they misperceived his position. One could argue, of course, that respondents discounted the manifest neutrality of the newscasters and perceived their latent biases, but this is questionable because of the lack of interest people display in the news, and because it was found that regular newscast viewers, who should see these biases more clearly, think of the newscasters as neutral more often than do irregular viewers.

Clearly, then, people project opinions onto the newscasters. One could argue, therefore, (1) that people were assigning their own opinions to the newscasters, or (2) that they chose a newscaster with whom they agreed. The first explanation is ruled out by the finding that there was often considerable divergence between respondents' perceptions of the newscasters' views and their own view; the second explanation is questioned by the data that show people choosing newscasters on the basis of their views and communication skills, not their perceived opinions.

At any rate, in most cases there was a divergence between what the respondents perceived to be the newscaster's opinions and their own opinions, which tends to suggest that respondents were not influenced by newscasters.

The greatest amount of divergence took place among people with "conservative" political opinions; they thought that the newscasters were more liberal than they. Many of them gravitated to one newscaster whom they perceived as being more conservative than the other two, although they often misperceived his manifest or latent views in the newscast.

Often but not always, respondents considered the newscasters to be more liberal than they. Consequently, it seems unlikely that most or even many respondents developed their opinions from the newscasts, and if selective perception is taking place, people are not ascribing their own views to the newscaster. Most likely, they are perceiving an overall image of the newscaster, which results not from his views, but from the kinds of news he provides. For example, if a newscaster reports the mistreatment of Southern Negroes by white sheriffs and does not report Negro crime statistics, or not as often as police mistreatment, "conservative" viewers may conclude that he is more liberal on the civil rights issue than they are, even though he may have chosen what news to report on the basis of his "news judgment" rather than ideological or political criteria.

In some cases, respondents perceived the newscasters as having the same opinions they held. Whether or not these respondents were influenced in their views by the newscasters, however, is hard to say from our data. Frequency of watching the network news did not increase the convergence of newscaster and respondent views; the regular viewers of the network newscasts did not agree with the newscasters more often than the irregular viewers. In addition, people do not feel they are being influenced. Although one would not expect them to admit such a feeling, only 5 per cent said they would change their opinion to that of "a respected commentator" if they disagreed with him, and most said they would just ignore his opinion if it diverged from theirs.

Even so, our respondents seem to place some faith in TV news. When given a choice as to whether to believe a friend or a TV commentator they respect highly, close to 60 per cent chose the commentator, and a third the friend. Only 16 per cent felt that important news was left out of the TV newscasts, and of those only a third thought it was due to censorship of one kind or another.

Audience Preferences in News Viewing

While only a small number thought the news was censored, a larger number of respondents favored censorship of various kinds. Half the respondents thought news that would frighten children should be omitted; a quarter felt that news which would upset adults, news which showed Russia in a good light or America in a bad light, news which showed businessmen in a bad light or exposed Northern injustice to Negroes should be left out. About a third of the sample would choose to send a strong opponent of communism to cover a story on life in Red China whereas 55 per cent favored an open-minded reporter, although almost half felt that "most viewers" would prefer the anti-Communist reporter. The difference between the two responses could be accounted for by "liberal" or college-educated respondents who felt that "most viewers" did not share their opinion. Respondents were even more strongly in favor of censorship of profanity (or thought that other people would be so) - 79 per cent thought the spontaneous use of the word "goddam" by a public figure who becomes upset while being interviewed on TV would be considered improper by most viewers.

Respondents' preferences for news content were studied in connection with the Viet Namese war coverage. When given a choice between more, less, or the same amount of coverage on how American soldiers in Viet Nam feel about the war, the peace feelers, and negotiations taking place in Spring 1967, and how the North Viet Namese feel about the war, three-fourths of the respondents said they wanted more coverage; only 10-15 per cent said they wanted less. Evidently, there is considerable demand for news about the feelings of people on both sides, and for news of peace. When given the same choices for stories about the fighting itself, however, only a third of the respondents wanted more, over a half wanted less, and 10 per cent wanted the amount now available.

An even stronger reaction emerged when people were asked, "How do you personally feel when you see films of the fighting in Viet Nam?" Their answers often responded as much to the fighting as to the films, so that the data cannot be used to evaluate the films themselves, but almost three-quarters said they felt sick, horrible or badly; 15 per cent were ambivalent (they were against the fighting, but thought the films were worth seeing or should be seen); 8 per cent were unabashedly in favor of the films and the war; and 4 per cent said they had no feelings or had gotten used to the fighting as it appeared on TV. When people were then asked how "most viewers" would feel about this question, the proportions were just about the same. On this question, people believe that there is no difference between their personal view and general public opinion.

The respondents' negative reaction to the fighting and/or the films did not indicate opposition to the war however; often people said that they were against the fighting because American soldiers were dying, or because they could not stand watching Americans being hurt. Consequently, there is no necessary conflict between these data and a finding from a 1967 Louis Harris poll which reported that three-quarters of the viewers felt more hawkish after seeing TV films of the Viet Nam war.*

Preferences toward alternative ways of covering a story were studied by asking respondents to rank, in order of interest, five stories about conditions in slum schools. First rank was given to a story which stressed the need for government action to improve conditions; second rank, to a story which blamed slum life in general for these conditions; third rank to a story which showed the positive results unusual teachers were achieving; and lowest ranks were given to stories which blamed the teachers and the children for the poor condition of slum schools. Similarly, when respondents were given a choice between a story which described the pathology of drug addicts and one which blamed them for hurting other people, two-thirds chose the former alternative. When asked to choose between a story that told the rest of the country of New York's problems and one that only reported the good things going on in the city, two-thirds of the respondents chose the more realistic story.

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*Newsweek, July 10, 1967, p. 20.

If answers to hypothetical questions have any validity, it is fair to say that many TV viewers are ready for news coverage that goes beyond reporting the mere event; they would choose stories that stress what should be done about an undesirable situation rather than further exposes of that situation, and they would choose analytic rather than purely descriptive stories. They are less interested in the kinds of stories now often shown on TV which report anecdotally on pilot projects and one-shot experiments, and they are least interested in stories which blame people. Whether they would actually choose this way in a real-life situation, or whether they would make such a choice with respect to news about international affairs is, of course, a moot question.

To get at preferences in complexity of news coverage, respondents were asked to choose between a reporter who is an expert on municipal government but a bit dull, and a not-so-well informed reporter who is a good story teller. In a way, this question required people to choose between "informational news" and "entertaining news." The combined samples were split down the middle in their personal preference. When asked how "most viewers" would choose, however, only 30 per cent picked the dull expert. The difference in response can be explained by the fact that many of the people who preferred the expert thought most people would prefer the story teller, although it is impossible to tell whether these respondents were honest in stating their personal preferences. Most likely, the majority of viewers would still choose news told in an entertaining fashion over news told in an expert but dull fashion, particularly if the topic is one of little interest, such as municipal government.

Audience Preferences for Entertainment and Information, and for Fantasy and Reality

Finally, we attempted to determine how interested respondents were in what we termed "reality" or "fantasy" in TV programming, as well as their interest in entertainment or information. The first aspect was studied by giving respondents choices between what we considered realistic and fantastic characters in three hypothetical stories. The first choice was between characters who were financially "as well off" as the respondent and characters who were "better off" than the respondent; the second, between characters who had problems like the respondents and characters who had no problems at all. In both instances, respondents chose the former, or realistic character by about 3 to 1. In choosing between a story about characters who live the way most people do and those who have unusual adventures, however, over two-thirds of the respondents preferred the adventurous characters. There was little overlap in the responses, for people who chose the fantastic character in one instance were ready to choose the more realistic in another. Thus, the viewing audience cannot be divided neatly into those wanting realistic and those wanting fantastic entertainment.

Moreover, people who liked the present "fantasy entertainment" fare on TV (people who picked comedy, variety, or adventure shows as their favorites), did not choose the hypothetical stories with fantastic characters more often. Respondents who said news and documentary programs were their favorites chose the realistic characters somewhat more often than respondents who preferred entertainment programs, but the highest number of choices of realistic characters came from people who like the quiz-and-game shows. Also, adolescents who said they liked most of the present TV fare did not choose fantasy characters any more often than adolescents who liked only some of the present fare; in fact, the highest number of fantasy choices came from adolescents who said they liked hardly any of TV's present programs. Evidently, there is a large group of viewers who would be interested in more realistic drama, and a small group of viewers, quite dissatisfied with present TV, who want more fantastic programming.

The choice between entertainment and information was tested only among adolescents, who were asked if they would choose to watch any of nine programs on a variety of informational topics (some related to adolescent problems, others not) instead of their favorite entertainment program. The median group chose four such documentaries; 12 per cent of the adolescents said they would watch seven to nine of them.

Over 60 per cent said they would watch documentaries entitled, "How teenagers can make money" and How to get into college"; 45 per cent said they would watch "Why parents and teenagers quarrel" and "Teenagers learning new dances." Adolescents who like most of TV's present fare chose more documentaries than those who dislike it; in fact, the most dissatisfied chose only one or two such documentaries. Presumably, these are respondents who do not like TV under any circumstances; but the large majority is reasonably satisfied with TV, yet ready to watch something else if the topic sounds appealing.

VARIATIONS AND VARIABLES IN THE USES OF TELEVISION

How people use TV and indeed what they see is in large part in the eye of the beholder, for what people bring to the TV screen plays a major role in how they perceive, interpret, and evaluate what they see, and what impact the screen's outpourings have on them. Consequently, it is necessary to report the variations in TV use by different sectors of the respondents. The section that follows deals, therefore, with such variables as age (by describing TV use among adolescents), class, race, emotional health (as perceived by respondents), and frequency and regularity of TV viewing, and describes the impact of these variables on the uses of television.

Age: TV in the Life of Adolescents

Generally speaking, the survey suggested that adolescents do not use TV differently or react to it differently than adults, but there were some exceptions. Adolescents did not watch TV more than adults, but they watched different kinds of programs; their greatest favorite was comedy of all kinds - and they watched news and documentary programs far less frequently than adults. (Incidentally, programs designed especially for them, such as teenage dance and music programs, were not among the most popular.)

The data suggest also that TV seems to "reach" adolescents somewhat more than adults. The teenagers did not find TV more helpful in understanding personal problems and making decisions than did adults, but they thought that TV gave illustrations of relevance to their life more often than did adults; they used TV as an anti-depressant somewhat more often; they said TV made them feel especially good and blue more often than adults; they were excited by it more often, and they dreamt about it more often than adults. The adolescents who used TV to overcome blue moods did not like the available TV fare more than those who did not use it for that purpose, and those who liked the available fare did not use TV more for therapy than did the rest of the sample.

A third of the adolescents said they had found TV helpful in their school work, not counting instances when programs were assigned by the teacher. Those who were helped were not very specific about how they had been helped, although a quarter of them felt TV explained current events more than their teachers. Only a handful thought that the visual presentation on TV provided help beyond that given by printed media. But about a half of the adolescent respondents said they had seen people on TV whom they would like as teachers, principally newscasters, comedians, and actors. They chose TV performers not for their glamor, but more for their personal qualities; they suggested comedians, for example, because they wanted more humor and laughter in the classroom. They also chose TV figures in terms of their particular qualities; and not in terms of qualities they thought important in school teachers. In other words, in their thinking, they separated education and television, at least with respect to teacher qualities, and they did not seem to want teachers who are modeled on successful TV performers.

As already noted, adolescents are less interested than adults in the news, either from newspapers or from television. They indicated a preference for the youngest of the three major network newscasters, but chose him for many of the same reasons as adults. They did not, however, perceive newscasters' views on controversial issues and party affiliation in the same way as adults. They saw the newscasters as neutral less often than adults, and their own opinions converged with their perception of the newscaster's opinion somewhat more often than did those of adults. (Part of the reason for this may be the fact that adolescents do not watch TV news as often or as intensely as adults and may also be less interested in the issues used in our questions. In any case, they seem to accept the opinion they believe the newscaster holds more often than adults, and this would be another indication that when they watch TV, they are reached more by it than are adults.)

Adolescents might have been expected to place less trust in TV because its programming, particularly in prime time, is largely aimed at, and about adults, but they chose TV as a source of news over a friend as often as did adults, and they felt that important news was left out no more often than did adults.

While adolescents were somewhat more "liberal" on the three controversial issues than adults, they were not significantly less in favor of censorship than the older generation. They felt that TV should censor news upsetting to children less often than adults, but they were slightly more opposed to the use of profanity on TV. They held the same views as adults on TV's coverage of the Viet Namese war, and they ranked the various ways of covering a story about poor conditions in slum schools about like their elders. Although they were no more willing to blame the teachers or the children than adults, they were less interested in optimistic coverage and more interested in a story that blamed slum life as a whole, and that described needed government action. Their lack of interest in the news is illustrated again by their greater preference - as compared to adults - for a story teller over an expert in covering local news.

Even so, when asked to choose between hypothetical stories adolescents do not want more fantasy; in fact, they select realistic characters somewhat more often than do adults. The adolescents who like most TV fare chose the realistic characters as often as the adolescents who are dissatisfied by present TV programming; indeed, the latter group chose the fantastic characters most often. Moreover, many adolescents chose a hypothetical documentary that deals with their concerns in preference to their favorite programs, and those who like present TV fare the most said they would watch such documentaries more often than those who were most dissatisfied by current TV. Evidently, then, adolescents are fairly pleased with what they see on TV, yet would be willing to choose something else if the choice was offered them. They prefer entertainment over informational TV, but they are willing to be informed by the right kinds of TV programs.

There was less variation by class in adolescent responses to many of our questions than in adults. Perhaps adolescents are not affected by their socioeconomic position as are adults, but it is doubtful that they are the harbingers of a classless society. Rather, we suspect, the finding is a function of age; adolescents are not yet incorporated in the larger society, but by the time they reach adulthood, they will be responding on the basis of class position, as do their elders. This is suggested by the fact that although adolescent responses did not vary by parental occupation, they did vary more often by the kind of occupation adolescents expected to pursue in adulthood. In short, adolescent answers are affected less by what they now are than by what they see themselves as becoming.

Finally, the frequent lack of variation between adult and adolescent responses to many of the questions suggests that the category adolescent is a term that is not useful for a survey of TV use, and may not be useful at all. As some of the detailed analyses by age reported in Parts II to IV suggest, respondents in the 14 to 15-year-old group answered questions differently than did the 16-17 and 18-19 groups. A more detailed analysis would probably show that the significant differences in response are between children and adults (and between adults and old people) and that by the time youngsters reach the age of 16, their thinking about TV, if not their use of it, comes fairly close to that of adults.

Class Differences in the Use of TV

We began with the hypothesis that there were significant class differences in the use of TV and in viewer preferences, the expectation being that the lower the respondents' class position, the less their interest in informational programs, news and reality-oriented entertainment. Class was estimated in terms of education and occupation for adults; in terms of parental occupation and also job expectation ("what kind of work do you really expect or think you'll do as an adult") for adolescents.*

We found class differences to exist often but not universally, and not always in the predicted direction. Moreover, these differences were usually more marked among adults than adolescents. Quite often, when class differences were found among adults of different occupations, there were fewer such differences among adolescents with fathers of different occupations; class differences among the younger sample appeared more often when responses were tabulated by job expectation. This pattern can perhaps be explained by generational change; adolescent reactions are different from those of their parents, so that parental occupation is not a good index for such reactions, but class differences persist, and they emerge when the adolescent's job expectation is analyzed.

Class differences in the amount of TV viewing were as expected: the highest and lowest status respondents watched less often than did those in the middle. Education was a better indicator than occupation here; the grade school and college educated watches less than the high school educated - but then most TV programs seem to be designed for that population. As expected, professionals and white-collar people liked informational TV somewhat more than did blue-collar people, who preferred entertainment; the adolescents from higher status backgrounds were also less satisfied with available TV fare.

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*Higher status respondents are defined as people with professional jobs and/or some college attendance; lower status respondents, as people with blue-collar jobs and 0-8 years of schooling. The middle group refers to people with white-collar (clerical and sales) jobs and about 12 years of education.

There were no significant differences among the classes in the extent to which TV was helpful in solving personal problems and making decisions, but professionals and the college educated thought TV gave illustrations about living one's life more than did the rest of the sample, and surprisingly, the high school educated thought TV to be least relevant to real life. Higher status people also used TV as an anti-depressant somewhat more often, found TV really exciting somewhat more often, and were depressed by it somewhat more often, but there were no class differences in the amount of dreaming induced by TV. In short, higher status respondents seemed to be somewhat more affected by TV than lower status respondents (perhaps they were only more aware of being so affected).

Despite the fact that blue-collar workers and the people with 0-8 years of education preferred entertainment to informational programming, they watched TV news regularly more often than white-collar workers, professionals and people with 12 years or more of schooling, particularly the half-hour evening network newscasts. These higher status respondents got more of their news from the printed media. It is not surprising, then, that lower status respondents also feel somewhat more bothered if they are unable to watch the TV news programs.

There were some class differences in the choice of a newscaster; higher status choosing NBC's Huntly-Brinkley somewhat more often, lower status people, CBS's Cronkite, and the middle group, ABC's Jennings, although the data do not suggest hard-and-fast patterns. The respondents with 0-8 years of education chose their newscaster more often on his ability to communicate; the college educated found his personality more important, but there was no difference between the classes in attention to news content, or in such non-news criteria as the time of the program and the channel on which it appears.

There were fewer class differences in respondents' perceptions of the newscasters' views on controversial issues than in respondents' opinions, but the responses varied sharply by issue, and there seemed to be no overall class pattern in the amount of agreement with perceived opinions of the newscaster. Lower status people might have been expected to be influenced by the perceived opinions of the newscaster more, and therefore to agree with him more often, but this was not the case. In fact, when people were asked whether they would change their opinion to accord with that of a respected commentator, the professionals and college educated said they would change their opinion more often than did the lower status respondents; the latter said they would let the commentator know their opinion somewhat more often. It is possible that they considered TV news to reflect the opinions of the middle class, and saw no reason to accept them.

Still, lower status people seemed to trust TV news programs more than higher status people; when asked to choose between believing a commentator or a friend, they sided more often with TV, and they also felt important news was left out of the newscasts less often.

With respect to preferences in TV news, class differences followed an expected pattern more often. Blue-collar workers and people with 0-8 years of schooling consistently favored omitting upsetting or embarassing news items more often than did the rest of the sample, and they opted for a biased reporter rather than an open-minded one when they were asked about the kind of newsman who should be sent to cover life in Red China. Lower status respondents were also opposed to more battle coverage in Viet Nam, probably not because they favor censorship, but because, as our data shows, they are more upset by the films and by the war itself than higher status respondents.

The responses of white-collar and blue-collar respondents were alike on the type of TV coverage they would prefer regarding poor schools in the slums, and differed from those of professionals and the college educated; the former were somewhat more interested in stories that blame teachers and children for this condition and particularly in stories that stress what the government ought to be doing; higher status respondents were more interested in stories that blame slum life in general, and also in optimistic stories that show good results being achieved to change conditions. Similarly, the lower status respondents chose a hypothetical story that blamed drug addicts more often than a story that explored their addiction as sickness, but higher status viewers did not choose a story that gave only the good news about New York more often than the rest of the sample. It seems clear that the lower the status of the viewer, the more he is interested in stories that personalize the news, and the more he favors stories that will suggest changes in undesirable conditions.

Although lower status viewers would be expected to prefer a storyteller to an expert in covering a local news story, particularly since they chose newscasters on more on their ability to communicate than on their skill as reporters, in a hypothetical choice, they chose the expert more often than the professionals and the college educated.

Finally, when respondents were asked to choose between fantasy and reality (as we have defined them) in hypothetical stories, higher status people were more interested in a story about characters more affluent than the respondent, and lower status people preferred a character of their own income level. Higher status respondents also chose an adventurous character over an ordinary character more often than lower status respondents, but the latter were more favorable to a character that had no problems whatsoever than the former. Evidently, the choice between fantasy and reality depends on the kind of story; the affluent want stories about yet more affluent characters, but lower status people who have more problems and more difficulties in their lives prefer stories about people who have no problems.

Perhaps the most interesting finding on the role of class differences in TV viewing is the pattern of preferences among higher status respondents. Past studies have indicated that such respondents are either critical of what they consider TV's low standards of taste and thus watch less often,* or that despite their criticism, they tend to watch the same kinds of programs as everyone else, and are critical only because they feel guilty about indulging in mass rather than class culture.**

Our findings suggest that there is truth to both conclusions. Higher status respondents do watch TV somewhat less often than the rest of the sample, and in some instances, particularly with respect to TV news, they obviously have different and "higher" critical standards than the rest of the sample. Even so, in some instances, their standards seem to be "lower" than those of less educated respondents. They prefer storytellers to expert reporters; they choose newscasters on the basis of personality more often, and in the choice between realistic and fantastic characters in hypothetical stories, they favor fantasy more than the rest of the sample.

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*See, e.g., Ira O Glick and Sidney J. Levy, Living With Television (Chicago: Aldine, 1962).

**See, e.g., Gary Steiner, The People Look at TV (New York: Knopf, 1963).

These findings suggest the hypothesis that whereas middle- and working-class people rely on TV as the basic medium for both entertainment and information, higher status people may use it primarily as an entertainment medium, and for distinctive types of entertainment. (They also tend to use TV newscasts differently; rather than being their sole or primary source of news information, TV supplements what they read in the print media.)

For higher status people, then, TV seems to be used especially as for escapist or fantasy entertainment, taking on the same function as the mystery novel that intellectuals supposedly read when they are too tired to partake of "high culture." Consequently, the higher status respondents seem to prefer the less realistic TV fare and want to have more fantasy than is already being provided.

Variations by Race: Some Negro Attitudes Toward TV

Since most TV fare, particularly entertainment programming, is populated by a cast of characters which is entirely or predominantly white, and is created by predominantly white production staffs, it would be fair to say that entertainment TV is de facto segregated. Negroes appear more often in the news, of course, than in entertainment shows, and newscasters, despite their manifest posture of neutrality, tend to depict civil rights activities in a favorable tone - although only as long as they are not threatening to the white majority. In fact, Black Power advocates are frequently attacked explicitly or described as possible causative agents of riots. As a result, it is also fair to say that when the news concerns racial issues, it is generally presented from a white point of view. In short, it seems fair to describe TV as a white medium.*

For these reasons, we were especially interested in the reactions to TV by the Negro members of our sample. Specifically, we wanted to test the hypothesis that Negroes might be less favorable toward TV than whites, and more likely to prefer alternative kinds of programming. Although the nonwhite portion of the sample was small (and consequently not an adequate statistical sample), its responses do not support this hypothesis. Most often, Negro responses seem to be affected by the age and class of the respondent more than by his race.

Negro respondents thought that TV gave illustrations for living one's life more often than whites, thus rejecting our hypothesis that they react negatively to "white TV" because it is irrelevant to their condition. Of course, one could argue that Negroes live amidst a white majority, and must therefore find illustrations for living in that world from TV, but our hunch is that Negro respondents were saying that TV gives illustrations of the good life - from which they are now excluded.

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*We do not here mean to single out TV; similar observations can be made about the other mass media of communication.

Negroes used TV as an anti-depressant less often, but this is maybe a function of their class position rather than of their race, for the difference between the races is less marked among adolescents, who are drawn from a wider class spectrum in our sample than are adult Negroes. And if TV aroused negative reactions among Negroes particularly, they might feel blue after watching a TV program more often than do whites. The data show the opposite, at least for adults.

On a question that asked respondents to agree or disagree with the statement, "the people who make up the TV shows don't really care enough to put on programs the public likes," white adults agreed more often than Negro adults; among adolescents, the opposite was true (22 per cent of white adolescents agreed, as compared to 39 per cent of Negro and 38 per cent of Puerto Rican adolescents). Still, more Negro and Puerto Rican adolescents disagree with the statement than agree with it, and the responses may be as much a function of class as of race. When adolescents were asked to evaluate present TV fare, 44 per cent of the Puerto Ricans said they liked most of the programs they saw, as compared to 26 per cent of the Negroes and 35 per cent of the whites. These differences are small and statistically insignificant, but whites said they liked "hardly any programs" more often than either Negroes or Puerto Ricans.

Negro patterns of news viewing were not analyzed, but Negroes did not differ from whites in their perception of the network newscaster's opinions on President Johnson's civil rights program; if they felt resentful about TV news practices, their answer to this question did not indicate it.* However, on the question of whether any important news was left out, some of the Negro respondents indicated that they felt civil rights news was sometimes ignored, or that news of the ghetto was limited to crime and violence.

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*Of course, it is possible that Negro respondents were reluctant to give their true feelings--even to the Negro interviewers used by NORC.

Racial differences appear also in response to the question in which the two samples were asked to choose different ways of covering poor conditions in slum schools. Negro adults were more interested than whites in stories that blamed teachers for these conditions, but among adolescents, the answers were reversed, although the differences are statistically insignificant. As might be expected, Negroes were no more ready than whites to choose stories that blamed children, but Negro adults were less interested than whites in stories that blamed slum life in general, although among adolescents it was the reverse. The greatest difference by race was found in response to the story that portrayed "what good things excellent teachers are doing"; both Negro adults and adolescents were profoundly uninterested in such coverage. Conversely, Negroes ranked the story about what the government should be doing as most interesting in first place in larger numbers than whites, although among adolescents, the white- nonwhite difference was small. Finally, Negro adults were likely to choose the story that described drug addicts as sick rather than evil more often than whites, but Negro adolescents picked it somewhat less often, although only among Puerto Rican adolescents did a majority say they preferred the story of the addicts' evil behavior.

These scattered analyses, which are based on a small Negro subsample, and are not stratified by class, cannot do more than suggest hypotheses. Still, the available evidence suggests that Negro respondents answered these questions more in terms of their class position than their race, and that they do not react against TV programming as much as might be expected. This does not mean, however, that they necessarily like the racial aspects of current TV fare. A study by Edward Storey among a nonrandom sample of 41 Harlem residents indicated, for example, that 51 per cent felt news about Harlem was usually reported much differently than it happened and that almost 60 per cent trusted Negro publications more than television. An equal proportion said they had never thought consciously about the idea that "TV is white." When they were asked to choose between all-Negro and all-white entertainment programming, however, 70 per cent chose the former, at least on a hypothetical choice. Their real preference was for integration, however, 82 per cent preferring an integrated program to an all-Negro one, and 97 per cent preferring it to an all-white one.* Similar findings emerged from a study among a random sample of 276 East Harlem residents; 70-85 per cent preferred all-Negro programs over all-white ones in response to several choices, but close to 90 per cent opted for an integrated program, i.e., one with actors of all races.**

Television Use Among People with Emotional Problems

Because some critics of television have charged that people with emotional problems are negatively affected by television programming, we included this topic in our study. We did not attempt to measure our respondents' mental health, but asked them to rate themselves by a question which asked, "Compared to most people your age, would you say you have more problems and frustrations or less?" We do not know whether people gave honest answers, of course, but 20 per cent said they had more problems than their peers, 32 per cent said they had about the same number, and 46 per cent thought they had fewer problems. Fourteen per cent of the adults, but 24 per cent of the adolescents thought that they had more problems than their peers, and Negro respondents of both age groups thought they had more problems than their peers more often than did white respondents. There was a slight tendency for people of lower status to feel that they had more problems than their peers, but the differences are not statistically significant.

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*Edward J. Storey, "The Negro Viewer and White Television," Unpublished term paper (Columbia University, Teachers College, May 1967).

**See Appendix C.

The data suggest that people with more problems use TV somewhat differently than the rest, but did not indicate that they react to TV differently than their less troubled peers. Thus, adolescents (but not adults) who think that they have more problems than their peers find TV somewhat more helpful in understanding personal problems; they think that TV gives illustrations about real life slightly more often, and they dream about TV somewhat more often as well. About 60 per cent of the adults who think that they have "more problems" use TV as an anti-depressant, as compared to 40 per cent of those who feel they have fewer problems than their peers; TV makes them feel especially good somewhat more often, but they are not depressed by a TV program more than are people who think that they have fewer problems. However, among the adolescents, those who think that they have more problems do not feel more favorable toward the present TV fare than the rest of the sample - and conversely, those who do like most TV fare do not think that they have "more problems" more often than do the respondents who like the present fare less.

Respondents who think that they have more problems than their peers are more favorable to the censorship of news that would upset most adults, but they do not prefer a reporter who restricts information more often than do the rest of the sample. Adults who think that they have more problems than their peers want less battle coverage in Viet Nam; adolescents in this category want more, but neither they nor the adults are more excited by news and fictional reports of fighting, violence, and killing (nor, for that matter, by suspense, supernatural, or shocking TV stories) than are the respondents who think that they have fewer problems.

Moreover, people who admit to having more problems choose stories with "realistic" characters more often than people who think that they have fewer problems -- that is, they choose stories about characters with problems like theirs rather than about characters without any problems; moreover, they choose "adventurous" characters somewhat less often than do the rest of the sample.

We also asked our respondents whether they enjoyed "doing things more with a group of people, or more when you're just with one other person, or more when you are by yourself," mainly to find out whether people who prefer being by themselves more (or who answer the question this way because they are socially isolated) are more influenced by what they see on TV. Fifty-six per cent of the sample preferred group activities (57 per cent of the adults and 50 per cent of the adolescents); 27 per cent (20 per cent of the adults and 39 per cent of the adolescents) preferred activities with one other person, and 16 per cent (20 per cent of the adults and 10 per cent of the adolescents) preferred being by themselves. There was a slight tendency for the proportion enjoying group activity to increase with lower status, while the proportion who enjoyed being with one other person decreased with lower status, and the proportion who enjoyed being alone increased with lower status, although the differences were not large and, except for the college graduates, the majority of respondents favored group activity. (Sixty per cent of the graduates, but only 20 per cent of those who had gone to college preferred to be with one other person.)

Respondents who preferred to be by themselves were more likely to be heavier viewers of TV. However, when adolescents evaluated their TV fare, those who enjoyed being by themselves more were also more dissatisfied with TV: 46 per cent liked only a few or hardly any of the shows they say, as compared to 27 per cent of the adolescents who preferred group activities and 40 per cent of those who preferred being with one other person. People who preferred to be by themselves did not find TV more helpful in understanding their problems or in making decisions. Adolescents (but not adults) who prefer activities by themselves used TV as an anti-depressant more than did the rest of the sample, but they did not find TV exciting more than did the rest of the sample, and they did not think they would change their opinion to accord with that of a respected commentator more often than the rest of the sample. Nor did they place more trust in a TV commentator than in a friend -- the reverse was true; the people who trusted TV more than a friend were those who enjoyed being with a group or with one other person. Similarly, people who preferred doing things by themselves were more likely to feel that TV doesn't provide the programs the public wants.

We did not analyze many questions in terms of people's social preferences, but the data so analyzed suggest that people who enjoy being by themselves may make more use of TV, but that their reactions to it do not differ from those of other respondents. There is no indication that they are more susceptible to being influenced by TV. The same can be said of people who think that they have more problems than their peers. If these data are any indication, then, it seems doubtful that TV has negative effects on people who feel troubled or on those who prefer to be by themselves.

The Impact of Frequency and Regularity of TV Viewing

Since we were interested in determining the educational implications of TV use, we were also interested in the extent to which people were or could be influenced in their activities and attitudes, by TV viewing. We analyzed all responses by frequency of viewing, on the assumption that people who said they were frequent or regular viewers of specific programs would respond differently than infrequent or irregular viewers. Once more, the data contained some surprises.

As might be expected, frequent viewers of TV found the medium more helpful in understanding personal problems and making decisions than did infrequent viewers, although only somewhat so. Conversely, frequent viewers felt that TV gave illustrations relevant to real life somewhat less often than infrequent viewers, but the difference in response was small and it occurred only among the most and least frequent viewers.

There is some indication that frequent viewers make more use of TV for therapy and are also affected by TV somewhat more. The differences are slight, but heavy viewers say they turn on TV to overcome bad moods more often than light viewers, and they dream about what they see on TV more often. They do not, however, feel especially good or blue about something they have seen on TV more often than do light viewers.

Frequent TV viewers also watched TV news programs regularly more often; infrequent or light TV viewers and irregular viewers of newscasts read the newspapers more often instead. Regular viewers of network news naturally said they would miss these programs more often than irregular viewers, but even they would not miss them seriously.

Regular viewers of the network newscasts tended to see the newscaster as neutral more often than did irregular viewers, but there was no more convergence between their perception of his opinions on controversial issues and their own opinions than among irregular viewers. Perhaps regularity of viewing made respondents see more clearly that the newscaster tried to be neutral, but it did not influence them to accept what they took to be the newscaster's opinion. Similarily, regular viewers could not identify their newscaster's political party affiliation as well as irregular viewers, but their own party affiliation did not vary with frequency of watching the news.

Nor do people's responses to a respected commentator with whom they differ vary with frequency of viewing; the data are ambiguous, but regular viewers will pay more attention, although they will not change their own opinion significantly more often, or let the commentator know theirs. In fact, the people who do not watch network news at all seem to react more strongly to the hypothetical commentator; they seem to be saying that if they would watch, they would be influenced. But then they do not watch.

Frequency of viewing is not correlated with a choice between TV and a friend either, for both regular newscast viewers and nonviewers would choose the respected commentator least often, although among adolescents the regular viewers chose him over the friend most often. Regular viewers feel something is left out of the news only half as often as irregular viewers; they seem to trust the news more than irregular viewers.

Perhaps they feel this way, however, because they are more in favor of censorship of upsetting and embarassing news than irregular viewers, but this may also be a function of class, for blue-collar worker viewers are more regular viewers, and are most in favor of censorship. If frequency were a factor, then regular network news viewers would prefer to send an anti-Communist reporter to cover a story on life in Red China more often than irregular viewers, but this is not the case.

Attitude toward the Viet Namese war and responses to TV films of the war did not vary by frequency of viewing; evidently seeing the coverage more often does not affect people's attitudes toward it. Also, since regular viewers feel as negatively about the war and the films as irregular viewers, they do not get used to them. Indeed, just the opposite may be happening, for regular viewers want less battle coverage than irregular viewers; they are also less interested in additional coverage of American soldiers. They are not more interested in stories about peace and negotiations or about the feelings of the North Viet Namese however. Regular viewers also displayed no greater interest in having a story covered by an expert rather than by a storyteller, although they felt most viewers would prefer an expert slightly more often.

Finally, frequency of TV viewing and regularity in viewing newscasts were associated with respondents' choices between "reality" and "fantasy" (as we have defined them) only in a couple of instances, and regular viewers were somewhat more likely to pick the realistic choice.

Similarly, adolescents who liked most of the available TV fare chose reality over fantasy, suggesting that approval of the present TV entertainment fare did not necessarily mean a greater preference for fantasy or a demand for more fantasy-oriented programming. Frequency of TV viewing was not associated with the choice of hypothetical documentaries among adolescents; more frequent viewers did not chose more such documentaries than less frequent viewers.

In short, frequency of TV viewing and regularity in viewing TV newscasts was not associated with variations in response often enough to suggest that they have an effect on viewer reactions. Consequently, these data suggest that frequent viewers may be no more influenced by what they see on TV than infrequent viewers, and that TV probably has no cumulative effect on people. In fact, on several questions, regular viewers and non-viewers gave much the same responses. Occasionally, people who do not watch TV news seem to take the newscasts more seriously than regular or irregular viewers; that is, their more extreme reactions to hypothetical questions and choices suggest that they believe TV would have a strong influence on them. This belief is not necessarily the reason for being a non-viewer; it does indicate that people who do not watch TV may overestimate the medium's influence on other people.

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The educational implications of the survey can be discussed in two ways: (1) for learning -- what people seem to learn from TV; and (2) for education -- what educational uses can be made of TV, particularly outside the classroom. (Concluding paragraphs will also discuss the survey's implication for future research.)

Learning from TV

I cautioned at the outset that a sample survey cannot determine what people learn from TV; learning is a slow and complicated process that can only be understood by observing people as they undergo that process. The findings of the survey indicate, however, what other sociologists have discovered: TV does not seem to influence people significantly or to encourage them to learn radically different attitudes or behavior patterns.* It should be noted, however, that the existing studies have been limited to the measurement of short-range effects, and this applies to the present survey as well. It is entirely possible that TV and other mass media have significant long-range effects on people, not ascertainable by studying their immediate responses to specific programs. But such effects can be identified only by long-term studies which can somehow isolate the influence of the mass media in the development of personality and role characteristics from the many other influences that shape people and their lives.

The data gathered here suggest that our respondents make extensive use of TV, and some of them find it helpful, albeit in emotional rather than cognitive ways, but they certainly do not make consistent use of it as a learning instrument. Rather, as they watch, they find material that is of relevance to their daily life and they use it when it comes up, but they do not seem to search for such material in watching television. Even the news programs, which are watched in order to provide information rather than entertainment, do not seem to be used consciously for learning purposes; people pick their newscasters less in terms of what news they present than in how they present the news, and whatever they learn seems of little importance or direct relevance to daily life, for even many regular viewers say they would not miss the programs if they could not watch them for several weeks. And if responses to a hypothetical question are any indication, there is little willingness among viewers to let themselves be influenced by a TV commentator.

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*See, e.g., Joseph Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960).

TV, then, is not used as a deliberate educational medium; people watch their favorite programs in order to be diverted, and to feel some sort of identification with favored characters and newscasters, but they do not seek to be educated. Only a handful said they watch educational channels, and they tend to be viewers with above average amounts of education.

This is not necessarily to say that people do not learn from TV. They may learn without being aware of learning - and thus cannot tell an interviewer what they have learned. Obviously, they are exposed to a great deal of information and opinion yet even so, one could question whether they learn much that has direct bearing on their everyday life and their basic attitudes, or whether they learn much that they would not learn elsewhere. If TV did not exist, people would probably be less informed - both about world events and the doings of a favorite soap opera herione - but having TV does not make them into different people. Our data suggest that they do not take it that seriously; it does not affect their bread and butter, it cannot tell them where to live, or even how to raise their families. And even when it does provide models of family life and child-rearing, people seem not to be significantly affeced; selective perception enables them to screen what they see so that it does not upset their basic routine, either of activities or attitudes.

Although people may spend a great deal of time before the TV set, our data on the effects of frequency indicate that extensive exposure really makes little difference, even on people who say they are troubled. Adolescents seem more affected by TV than adults, yet their basic attitudes are not significantly different from those of adults; when their responses are tabulated by the kinds of jobs they expect to hold, they answer many questions just like adults who hold these jobs. Negro respondents do not seem to be upset over the fact that the television programs they watch are programmed by and for whites. I would even doubt that they get their conception of the good life from which they are excluded from TV; after all, there are myriads of other sources of that conception which are more impressive and more personal in impact; ghetto residents see things in stores that they cannot afford, and they ride by neighborhoods in which they are not allowed to live even if they can afford them. The lower status respondents in our samples are slightly more dissatisfied with TV than the higher status respondents, but if the extent of their discontent were measured by how they responded to our questions, they would appear to be only slightly less satisfied than the affluent members of the sample. They too see TV mainly as diversion, and I suspect that this affects both their conscious and their unconscious use of and reaction to the medium.

TV and the other mass media are, perhaps more than most social institutions, devoted to reflecting and elaborating the dominant middle class culture of American society, but the mass media do not shape that culture. Although they deal in ideas, images, words, and symbols, the material they disseminate are those their decision-makers and sponsors choose, while being closely attuned to the feedback they get from their audiences. Few of those who participate in the programming decisions either within TV or in front of the set seem to be much interested in reshaping attitudes or society - or in direct education.

In a sense, then, it may be wrong to ask what people learn from TV, for they only learn more about their culture, and if they did not learn it from TV they would readily learn it elsewhere if they really needed to learn it. But if it is wrong to ask what people now learn from TV, one should still ask what they could and would learn from TV that they could not learn anywhere else, or that they could learn more effectively from TV.

This question is even more difficult to answer, for TV both encourages and discourages learning, on the conscious as well as the unconscious level. TV may encourage learning precisely because it is not educational; people are watching to be entertained, and under such conditions, there may be less resistance to being taught than in the classroom. But this also discourages learning, for being mainly diversion, TV is not viewed with a high degree of intensity. The occasional event is watched with rapt attention; perhaps people learned something about death and mourning from the coverage of the Kennedy assassination. Most often, however, people watch with only "one eye," and only if what they see somehow happens to connect with their life and their problems will they take notice, but then half the program is apt to be over, and cannot be recreated. Conscious learning is thus spontaneous and ad hoc. Unconscious learning may be more extensive and intensive, but none of the evidence from this survey or any other has convinced me that this is the case; when people come to a medium to be diverted, watching as they do in the midst of their family and while doing other things at the same time, unconscious learning about anything of real importance is likely to be sparse.

Even so, I believe that people could learn something of importance from TV because of the medium's immediacy and because of the amount of time viewers spend before the screen. Our findings suggest, however, that such learning cannot be "transformational"; for neither TV or any other mass medium can initiate or even encourage significantly learning that transforms basic attitudes and values. The media cannot do the job that the school or other educational institutions have failed to do.

Our data cannot reveal what people could learn unconsciously, but there are some guidelines about what they want to learn consciously. A significant portion of the respondents seems ready for more sophisticated coverage of the news on urgent topics; they seem to want more explanation and more news that is not now available, e.g., information about the North Viet Namese. They also seem to want better understanding of what creates slums, and what the government can do about it.

Moreover, people seem to be ready for more "realism" in their entertainment programs. That is to say, they want adventurous characters in their "stories," but they also want believable characters, and they seem to want stories that reflect and comment on their daily life. That the quiz-and-game devotees want more realism than anyone else suggests that viewers want to watch the reactions of real people, or rather real characters, as they go through lives that resemble their own. This suggests the possibility of more TV series peopled by "real" characters in settings that resemble those of the viewers, facing the problems that they themselves must solve. People have intrapersonal and interpersonal problems, and some want advice from a TV psychiatrist. But even more people seem to be saying, at least in these interviews, that they will watch stories that present and solve the ordinary problems they live with -- of how to deal with an unruly or underachieving child, or with an adolescent who wants to be a hippie, of how to cope with nasty neighbors, neurotic co-workers, and spouses who have lost interest in their marriage. Respondents want to see programs from which they can learn if they choose to, but these programs cannot just mirror the frustration and indecision of real life; they must be both real and adventurous, and such programs are not easy to create.

The soap operas have created some "real" characters, particularly for viewers who live in lower middle class small town settings, but they place their characters in unusual situations; they must cope with abortion, murder, and sudden death more than with ordinary problems. No doubt many people want to watch such programs, and no doubt others want to watch family comedies that show a heroine humorously upstaging her less intelligent spouse and children. But the study findings allow a guess that the same people might also watch equally real people in more typical everyday problem-solving situations - and in settings that duplicate the urban and suburban millieus in which most viewers live.

Such programs need not be and should not be documentaries; they should be the same kinds of series as are now presented, and they probably cannot be consistently realistic and problem-solving week in and week out. But every so often, they can do a story that shows their characters confronting and coping with real-life problems, and in this process, they can provide the kind of education that is now associated with documentaries and advice programs. The same advice that a competent psychiatrist gives can also come from the lips of a character in whom viewers have come to believe, and such a character could even discuss the news from Viet Nam or from the ghetto, much as people discuss such news around the dining room table every so often.

Realistic fiction of sorts is already available in several media, including TV. Paperback novels have recently moved in the direction of fictional treatments of real people, although such novels as _The Carpetbaggers_, _The Adventurers_, _The Prize_, and _Valley of the Dolls_ have featured celebrities and overspiced descriptions of their lives. Novels will probably always be more adventurous than TV, because they must attract a buyer, and they must provide exaggeration in order to hold the popular reader. TV, as Marshall Mac Luhan has pointed out, cannot and need not exaggerate; the small screen, the visual image and the fact that little can be left to the viewer's imagination as a result means that TV must be somewhat more believable. Indeed, the medium has already provided realistic nonfiction, and of two types. One type is social problems fiction, e.g., in"The Defenders" and "East Side-West Side," but these programs dealt largely with the problems of the poor and otherwise deprived. Since they are a minority of the total society, the programs were not sufficiently popular with the middle-class audience to survive. Another type is historicized social problems fiction, in which a wide variety of social problems are presented in a historical setting. "Bonanza," which was the most popular TV program for many years, presented a number of current social problems in a 19th-century Western setting, leaving it up to the audience to decide whether or not the presentation had any relevance to their lives. No one knows whether the audience made the connection, however.

My suggestion is that popular dramatic and comedy series can present and discuss social problems in a contemporary setting. Such programs should not deal exclusively or even predominantly with the big issues of poverty, segregation, and war that are considered society's major social problems at present, but they should deal with the everyday problems of the middle- and working-class audiences as well, the problems of family, work, home, and individual adaptation that concern most people most of the time.

Such programming cannot be produced by educators, for it is clear that the moment a TV program becomes manifestly educational, it loses much of its appeal, to children and adolescents as well as adults. It must entertain as well as educate, and must therefore be created by writers and directors who know how to entertain, but can also include popular presentations of social and personal problems. Moreover, such programming must take note of the diversity of the TV audience; it must deal with problems common to all of them or to the majority most of the time, and it must present a variety of views on such problems. It cannot succeed if it presents only the professional view of a problem, for then it becomes a "message program" and will be rejected. Rather, it must present professional as well as popular views, but it can do so in ways that will indicate the superior wisdom of the professional solution, if that solution is indeed blessed by superior wisdom. Moreover, playing off various views against each other will provide the dramatic content and conflict that a story needs in order to be popular. And when it presents professional solutions, it must make sure that these solutions are relevant to the average audience member, and not just to the upper middle-class, well-educated person to whom most professional solutions seem most often relevant today.

This proposal is extrapolated from the results of the findings, although it obviously goes considerably beyond these findings, and it may overestimate the popular demand for more realistic entertainment. Moreover, it must be emphasized that our data may also be overestimating; it is easy for people to tell interviewers what they ought to want, and they might never turn on programs of the kind here suggested. For example, if people say that they prefer news from a dull expert to news from an uninformed storyteller, their response must probably be discounted by the fact that interviews often give culturally approved answers. However, the questions which asked people to choose between more "realistic" and "fantastic" fictional characters in hypothetical stories did not lend themselves to a culturally approved answer quite as easily, since neither alternative was self-evidently good or bad, culturally speaking. The data which show that our respondents tended to favor more "realistic" characters may thus reflect their personal feelings. Moreover, the fact that the interest in such characters came from middle and lower status respondents rather than from the higher status respondents - who are usually most aware of culturally approved answers - suggests that the data are not simply the typical findings which report that higher status people want more cultural and cultured programming.

Educational Uses of TV

In discussing what people learn and can learn from TV, I have already suggested most of the educational implications of our findings, for if people learn from TV, they do so in a much different setting than that of the school. Commercial television - and most likely public television as well - cannot be used as a deliberate educational tool as an extension of the school system or even of adult education. Although viewers may learn when they watch television, they learn different things under different circumstances than they do in a school situation, and the aims and procedures of the school cannot be transferred to the television program. Our study suggests that not many people will use entertainment media for deliberate schooling purposes. This is perhaps brought out best by the finding that when adolescents described the TV figures they would like to have as teachers, they did not pick people on the basis of the same criteria they used to describe better classroom teachers.

The data suggest, however, that some of the virtues of television can be transferred to the school. The questions which we asked adolescents about changes they wanted in their schools, which are reported more fully in Chapter II, indicate that their primary demands are for more humor and lightness in the classroom, and for more freedom from arbitrary school regulations. These findings suggest that the students may want a school situation which is closer to that of TV, with education using some of the entertainment methods of TV and the freedom from restrictions enjoyed by the TV viewer at home.

I do not mean to suggest that school should be entertaining constantly, or that the classroom situation can duplicate that of the TV viewer. The school can, however, draw some lessons from TV and make education less of a drudge, and the student role less like that of a captive. The school can also draw on TV, and use its themes to make education more contemporary and more related to the culture of TV, not necessarily by adopting that culture, but by including it in the curriculum and weighing its pros and cons in the classroom. If adolescents watch TV programs that deal, however fictionally, with social and personal problems, the classroom can compare the TV treatment with other, perhaps more professional treatments, and thus use the school as a corrective for mass media treatments, even while the popularity of the mass media are used as a corrective for the school's reliance on pedagogical versions of social reality. If TV's depiction of the American middle-class family in the endless family comedy series is inaccurate, the school can so inform its students, but by using these series as a teaching tool, the school can also initiate instruction in family dynamics in a more appealing fashion than by resorting to a textbook on the subject.

Finally, the findings suggest - although only indirectly - that there is little reason for education's hostility toward TV. Our data back up earlier findings that the viewers are not a passive population who hang on to every word and image that comes across the screen and will be swayed by what they see. All in all, TV is neither a negative influence nor, for that matter, a very positive one. Judging from our data, it is simply not that influential in changing people's behavior and attitudes -- that is, there was frequently no correlation between TV viewing and behavior and attitudes. Indeed, it is probably less persuasive in this respect than the school, for there is more variation in response to TV by people's educational level -- by the number of years they spent in school -- than by the frequency with which they watch TV.

TV and the school are both educational agencies, but they are quite different in what they teach and how they teach. Consequently, it is doubtful that one can replace the other, or even adopt the methods of the other. Rather, educators ought to accept TV for what it is -- an instrument of diversion that also may teach, but does not present real competition for them. When all is said and done, the subjects that people need to know to live their daily lives are taught in school more often than on TV. Conversely, TV ought to accept education for what it is as well, and treat it as an educational agency, rather than as a haven for frustrated spinsters like "Our Miss Brooks" or for miracle workers like "Mr. Novak."

Implications for Future Research

Although, in the preceding two sections of Part I, I have argued as if our survey had revealed what and how people learn from TV, in fact the survey has only provided some findings on people's usage of TV and their reactions to present and hypothetical programming. It did not and cannot provide data on the learning process itself.

Such studies would require more complex methods: a mixture of observation of people while they are watching television, complemented by open-ended interviewing and free-floating discussions of what they have seen, how they feel about it, what they have learned from it that they did not know before, what they would like to see, what they would like to learn (if anything), and from what kinds of programs, characters, actors, newscasters, and commentators. This type of research must be carried out over a long period, confronting various types of people with the whole range of present and alternative programming.

Such studies ought to concentrate on three topics. One is the process of learning. We know a little about how people learn in school, although precious little as that; we know nothing about how people learn from TV or the other mass media. A second, and perhaps more important topic is what people learn. The findings on the role that selective perception plays in TV viewing, and our own data on the preference for censorship by some people of some kinds of news indicates clearly that what people learn is a function not only of what they already know, but also of what they want to learn. This question has rarely been investigated in school learning, but the experience of slum schools suggests that some of its students simply do not want to learn what the school is teaching. They probably know how to learn much more adequately than is commonly thought; the problem is that their previous background and their image of what the future will be like for them provides them little incentive for learning what the school wants to teach them. Consequently, there is great need, in both school and mass media research, for studies of the learning process from this perspective, to determine what people want to learn and why, and what they do not want to learn and why.

Finally, research is needed on what people would prefer to learn. In addition to the cultural equipment which delineates what people want to learn and want not to learn, there is also a repertoire of needs and aspirations which provides clues as to what people prefer to learn -- what they need to know, cognitively and affectively, that they are not receiving now, either from school or from the mass media. Consequently, studies are needed that identify people's preferences and choices, not by confronting them with interview questions, but by experiments with alternative learning situations that vary both the how and the what of learning, and allow people to choose what appeals to their needs and their imagination. If I am correct in inferring from our findings that there is some demand for more realism and naturalism in entertainment, various forms of such entertainment ought to be created and tested among a wide variety of viewers, watching on their home TV screens. If this kind of "pilot programming" were available, it would be easy to then interview its audience, and discuss with them what they have seen, to determine to what extent it provides gratification, and more important, material that is of some use in their own lives. It would be good if public television could devote some of its energy to that kind of programming, rather than concentrating on creating superior documentaries that will probably only appeal to the well-educated viewers who already get the same content from various printed media.

CHAPTER II: THE USES OF TELEVISION

AMOUNT OF USE

In two samples of New Yorkers including people who watched at least three hours or more of television a week (not counting Saturdays and Sundays), 74 per cent said they watched every day, 23 per cent 2-3 times a week, and two per cent once a week. Sixty-two per cent said they watched ten or more hours during the week, the median being about 12 hours, although 24 per cent said they watched more than 20 hours during the week.

These frequencies varied little between adults and adolescents: 59 per cent of the adults and 54 per cent of the adolescents watched ten hours or more during the week, and exactly the same proportions watched daily and less often. Nor was there any significant difference between the sexes, although boys 14 to 15 years old and men over 60 said they watched nearly every day more often than anyone else, and 29 per cent of the females in the sample as compared to 19 per cent of the males in the sample watched 20 or more hours per week. Again, the 14-15 and over-60 age groups were highest; for example, 37 per cent of the girls 14 to 15 years old, and 48 per cent of women over 60 reported 20 or more hours of viewing per week.

As expected, there were some class differences in viewing frequency.* Professional people watched less often and fewer hours during the week than anyone else, but there was little difference among white collar, blue collar workers, and unskilled blue collar workers - who are sometimes reported to use TV less. Class differences were even less marked among adolescents; respondents with professional fathers watched as much as anyone else. Cross-tabulations by educational background came closer to the expected finding; adults with eight grades of education and the college educated watched fewer hours during the week than the high school educated. Forty-six per cent of people with less than eight grades of schooling watched ten hours or more, compared to 41 per cent of college graduates, 68 per cent of those with some high school, and 64 per cent of high school graduates.

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*Here as elsewhere, we are assuming that occupational background and education are viable indices of class, and differences by occupation and education will be interpreted as class differences.

Sociological findings that suggest people who are socially isolated, voluntarily or involuntarily, are more likely to use the mass media were borne out as well. People were asked whether they enjoyed doing things "more when with a group of people, or when just with one other person, or by yourself." Among both adults and adolescents, those who preferred doing things by themselves watched TV more often than those who preferred a group or another person. The finding was most marked among adolescents, with 96 per cent of those preferring to do things by themselves, watching nearly every day, as compared to 73 per cent of those preferring group activity, and 68 per cent preferring one other person. Similarly, 87 per cent of adolescent respondents preferring to do thing by themselves watched twenty hours or more, but only 51 per cent of those preferring a group and 47 per cent of those preferring another person. Among adults, however, the former watched fewer hours than the other two types. This may be a result of the fact that lower status adults, who prefer to be by themselves more than higher status ones, also watch less TV.

PREFERENCES AND ATTITUDES

People were also asked what type of programs they enjoyed watching most, and the results fall into expected patterns. No one program type was chosen by more than 15 per cent of the sample, except comedy, chosen by 17 per cent. Adventure programs (westerns and war stories) and mystery or spy stories each were picked by 13 per cent, dramas and soap operas by 12 per cent, variety and musical shows by 11 per cent, news and documentaries by 10 per cent, and sports by 8 per cent. Comedy was the special favorite of adolescents; adventure stories were preferred by boys and men; mysteries by both sexes (although more in the adolescent group than in the adult group); dramas and soap operas by adult women; variety and musical shows by female adults and adolescents and men over 60: and news and documentaries overwhelmingly by adult men. Only one adolescent in the sample preferred news and documentary programs; but 25 per cent of men aged 21 to 59, and 35 per cent of men over 60 described them as most enjoyable. Teenage dance and other dance programs appealed to only 10 per cent of the adolescents, particularly 14 to 15 year-old girls, 26 per cent of whom chose these as their favorite.

Class differences probably reflected differences in education, and the findings were as expected: the professionals preferred news, documentaries, and educational programs more often (although this was also true of white collar adults), and blue collar respondents preferred various types of entertainment programs. Comedy was the first choice of teenagers from all classes, however, and there were no significant class differences in other program preferences.

The adolescent sample was also asked to evaluate the TV fare; The question read; "Thinking of everything that is available on TV, would you say you like most of the programs you see, a great many, a few, or hardly any?" A third of the sample said it liked "most programs," 32 per cent "a great many," 27 per cent "a few," and 7 per cent "hardly any." As might be expected, heavy viewers were more likely to approve of most programs; light viewers to approve of only a few. Also, adolescents from blue collar backgrounds reported liking "most" programs in larger numbers than those from white collar and professional homes; indeed, there was no difference here between white collar and professional homes. The proportion answering "hardly any" was highest among those from professional homes; those answering "a few," from white collar homes. The same pattern obtained when the responses were analyzed by the kind of work the adolescent expected to do as an adult.

The hypothesis that non-white respondents do not approve of the fact that entertainment television presents mostly white performers and white characters in its fictional programming was not borne out. Although only 26 per cent of the Negro respondents said they liked "most" programs, as compared to 35 per cent of the whites, the latter said that they liked "hardly any" of the TV fare most often. Class is probably a more important factor than race in how people evaluate TV.

The attitude toward TV was also related to grade average in school; 23 per cent of the "A" students liked "most" programs, and 13 per cent liked "hardly any:" among "B" students, the proportions were 37 per cent and 6 per cent; among "C" students, 30 per cent and 8 per cent; and among "D" students, 33 per cent and 0 per cent.

USING TELEVISION FOR PROBLEM-SOLVING AND EMOTIONAL RELIEF

The respondents were also asked about more specific uses of TV, particularly about various problem-solving uses. To begin with, they were asked: "Have you ever seen anything on TV that helped you understand a personal problem of yours, or that helped you make a decision about something, other than commercials?" Since there was no incentive for respondents to find TV helpful if they did not feel that way, other than to cooperate with the interviewer, the responses can be taken as reliable although perhaps inflated somewhat. Moreover, people were left free to define what they considered helpful, and were thus judging TV in relation to their need for help, the intensity of that need, and the other sources of help available to them.

Thirty-seven per cent of the respondents in the two samples put together said TV had been helpful; there were no differences between adults or adolescents, or between the sexes. TV was somewhat more helpful to heavy TV viewers than to light viewers: 14 per cent of adults watching less than four hours a week, 18 per cent of those watching four to six hours, 25 per cent of those watching 15-19 hours and 30 per cent of those watching twenty or more hours a week found it helpful.

Nor was TV more helpful to one class than another, although unskilled blue collar workers among the adults found it helpful in somewhat larger proportions than did the other class groups, and adolescents from professional homes found it considerably more helpful, 55 per cent responding positively. So did adolescents with professional and white collar job expectations (cells are quite small here, and the findings are not statistically significant.) The poorly educated found TV helpful no more often than the medium or well educated.

The people who might be expected to find TV helpful did not: adult respondents who described themselves as having fewer problems and frustrations than most people their age thought TV helpful as often than those with more problems. Among adolescents, however, those who thought they had more problems than their peers found TV helpful more than the rest (38 per cent as compared to 25 per cent of those who thought they had fewer problems than their peers, and 20 per cent of those who thought they had about the same number of problems as others of their age). Adults who said they sometimes turned on TV to overcome blue moods found TV no more helpful than those who did not use TV as an anti-depressant, but 34 per cent of the adolescents who used TV for this purpose found it helpful, as compared to 17 per cent of those who did not use TV as an anti-depressant. Neither among adults nor among adolescents did respondents who preferred to be by themselves report that they found TV more helpful than those who preferred group activities or activities with one other person.

Of the approximately 100 respondents who found TV helpful, about 20 per cent mentioned documentary and educational programs, but an equal number picked entertainment shows, and only 10 per cent advice shows, either religious or psychological in content. Fifteen per cent picked news programs and documentaries. Evidently, people find entertainment shows as "helpful" as those dealing specifically with problems and problem-solving, although adolescents who said they had more problems than other teenagers and those who used TV as an anti-depressant picked educational and documentary shows twice as often as entertainment ones. Advice programs still ran behind the news, nowever. The cells are small, but there is some indication that, as expected, better educated people find documentary programs more helpful, and less educated people entertainment programs.

The respondents were also asked how they found TV helpful, and 45 per cent said - in volunteered and open-ended responses - that it helped them understand something about themselves or their society, mostly by providing relevant information. Only 5 per cent said that TV helped them make a decision, although 21 per cent said that TV reinforced ideas they already held and backed up actions they were thinking of taking, and another 3 per cent said specifically that TV reinforced or justified a decision they wanted to make. Four per cent said TV helped them to change their mind, and 8 per cent to act differently, but as these data show, TV reinforces the respondents' inclinations much more often than it changes them. The answers people gave to this question usually mentioned a specific program that had proved most helpful, and people who picked entertainment programs often said that a particular character in a play or soap opera had faced a situation also being faced by the respondent, and his or her solution - more often hers - gave the respondent reinforcement for what he thought or planned to do.

TV was helpful, in the sense just described, in several types of problems. Although respondents were asked whether TV helped them in understanding a personal problem, only 17 per cent described a purely personal problem, usually referring to ambivalence or anxiety over deviant behavior and feelings. Another 13 per cent mentioned problems about dating, marriage, and family life generally; 6 per cent, getting along with people outside the family; 12 per cent, problems connected with school and career uncertainties among adolescents, and job or career uncertainties among adults. Eleven per cent reported being helped with questions of personal care, ranging from beauty care hints to health protection, and among adolescents, a few respondents said that TV helped them stay away from drug use. The largest proportion, 17 per cent, found TV helpful on topics having to do with the community and the world situation, one program or another clearing up confusion about the draft, the war in Viet Nam, discrimination etc. (An answer was coded in this category only when people said they got help rather than just information from TV, so that people who said they learned interesting facts about the world from TV were not considered to have been helped by it.) Another 9 per cent said TV had helped them with purchase decisions and with their leisure activities, frequently athletics. Generally speaking, women used TV help on personal relations and care more often than men; men mentioned school, job, community, and world problems more often than women.

Respondents who said that they had never found anything helpful on TV were asked what kinds of programs would be helpful to people in understanding their personal problems. As might be expected, not many volunteered ideas. Eleven per cent said flatly TV cannot help people with personal problems because a mass medium cannot cater to the individual's needs. Another 24 per cent said they did not know or did not suggest any programs, and 18 per cent gave vague or unclear answers which suggested that the question did not touch them enough to justify a specific answer. Since relatively few people described types of programs, their responses were not coded, although an impressionistic tabulation indicated an interest, on the part of some at least, in advice programs that used psychologists and psychiatrists to answer specific problems on the air. Some mentioned Drs. Brothers and Franzblau as examples.

We coded instead what kinds of problems people who did not find TV helpful thought might be dealt with on TV, and the largest proportion of those responding, 17 per cent (or about 35 per cent of those mentioning problems), were interested in matters of family relations, marriage, divorce, and sex. Ten per cent (or a fifth of those mentioning problems) were interested in TV programs which provided a substitute form of counseling about individual problems, and 8 per cent wanted programs that would help teenagers stay out of trouble - and away from alcohol, narcotics, and crime. These suggestions came as often from adolescents as from adults. The remainder were interested in help on problems with relationships outside the family; school, career and job problems; and problems of community and world (4 per cent each).

Another question which gets at the use to which people put TV, or at least at attitudes about its usefulness, asked people to agree with one of three statements: "TV as a whole gives us a lot of illustrations about how to live our lives." TV as a whole gives us few illustrations about how to live our lives." "TV as a whole has nothing to say about how to live our lives." Altogether, 25 per cent of the combined samples agreed that TV gives a lot of illustrations, 39 per cent that it gives a few, and 34 per cent that it has nothing to say about life. The sexes did not differ in their opinions, but adolescents felt TV was more useful than adults, 28 per cent saying it gave a lot of illustrations as compared to 19 per cent of the adults; 26 per cent saying it gave none, as compared to 41 per cent of the adults.

Class differences did not show a uniform pattern. When responses were broken down by education, the college educated said that TV gave a lot of illustrations more often than the rest of the sample, and the high school educated, probably the audience to which TV caters most, felt TV was illustrative least often. However, professionals and unskilled blue collar workers agreed that TV gave a lot of illustrations more often than respondents from other occupations. Among the adolescents, those from unskilled blue collar homes also agreed that TV gave a lot of illustrations more often, but those from professional homes did not.

Adolescent responses were also broken down by the kind of work the adolescent expected to do as an adult, and although there were no differences in proportions agreeing with the first statement, the number who said that TV gives a lot or a few illustrations varied directly with class, being highest among those expecting professional jobs and lowest among those expecting blue collar jobs.

We expected that students who received poor grades in school might therefore feel TV to be more relevant to their life, but this expectation was not supported by the data; respondents with a "B" average felt TV gave a whole lot of illustrations more often than "A" and "C" students.

Few respondents admitted to grade averages below "C", however, so that these data present no real test of the hypothesis.

Since blue collar people felt that TV gave a lot of illustrations, there was also a correlation by race. Among adults, 34 per cent of Negroes, as compared to 19 per cent of whites felt TV gave a whole lot of illustrations; among adolescents, 42 per cent of Negroes and 25 per cent of whites responded this way.

A comparison by religion showed that 35 per cent of Protestants, 25 per cent of Catholics, and 19 per cent of Jews thought TV gave a lot of illustrations, but Jews, shown by some studies to be more frequent consumers of mass media fare than other religious groups felt least often that TV had nothing to offer in the way of illustrations.

People who thought they had more problems than their peers felt that TV gave a lot of illustrations about life, although the differences between them and those who thought they had fewer problems was small. People who felt TV had helped them understand or deal with a personal problem naturally thought TV gave a lot of illustrations about life more often than those who did not think they were helped. People who used TV as an anti-depressant, and people who said they had felt especially cheerful because of a TV program, responded similarly.

Frequency of viewing made some difference in response, but only at the extremes - and negatively. Of those watching less than four hours a week, 28 per cent thought TV gave a lot of illustrations; of those watching twenty hours or more only 19 per cent felt that way.

People were also asked whether they used TV to overcome depression: The question read: "Do you ever turn on the TV to help you get over feeling blue or a bad mood?" Fifty-five per cent reported that they did so - 61 per cent of the women and 48 per cent of the men; 49 per cent of the adults but 60 per cent of the adolescents - and the 14 to 17 age group more than the 18 to 19 age group. Class differences were minimal; white collar adults made more use of TV for this prupose than professional or blue collar people, but there was no relationship with parental occupation among adolescents at all. Sixty per cent of the college educated, 45 per cent of the high school educated, and 50 per cent of those with grade school education or less said they used TV as an anti-depressant; among adolescents, there was no pattern by job expectation.

Frequency of viewing seemed to make a difference; heavy viewers used TV as an anti-depressant somewhat more often than light viewers, particularly among adolescents; 47 per cent of the adolescents who watched TV less than four hours a week but 89 per cent of those who watched twenty hours or more. However, among adults, the difference between the two groups was only 19 per cent.

People who said they had more problems than others their age used TV as an anti-depressant more than other respondents - among the adults, 62 per cent who thought they had more problems than their peers and only 41 per cent of those who thought they had fewer problems. And among adolescents, but not among adults, respondents who enjoy doing things more by themselves than with other people used TV as an anti-depressant more often than the remainder of the sample. These data suggest that adolescents may be more affected by TV than adults.

We also wondered whether Negroes would use TV to overcome bad moods as often as white respondents. Among adults, only 31 per cent of Negroes but 53 per cent of whites said they turned on the TV to overcome a bad mood; among teenagers, it was 54 per cent and 63 per cent respectively. Adult Negroes were almost entirely drawn from semiskilled and unskilled blue collar workers, who do not use TV as often for this purpose as white collar workers, but Negro adolescents came from more affluent homes as well, so that the findings may reflect class differences rather than racial ones.

The kinds of programs which helped people feel better were of course almost entirely in the entertainment category, and as might be expected, 55 per cent chose comedy. Eighteen per cent of the men found relief in adventure stories; 15 per cent of the women, in dramas, and 30 per cent of the women (as compared to 14 per cent of the men) in variety and musical shows.

The previously discussed questions all sought to determine whether people deliberately used TV to achieve a cognitive or emotional purpose. The respondents were also asked in a variety of ways whether TV affected them emotionally although it might not have been deliberately used for such a purpose. For example, people were asked if they ever felt "especially good" because of a TV program they watched, and 82 per cent said yes, - 78 per cent of the adults, and 86 per cent of the adolescents. Among both adults and adolescents, those who said they turned on the set to overcome depression felt "especially good" more often than those who did not turn on the set for this purpose, and so did adults (but not adolescents) who described themselves as having more problems than other people their age. Evidently, then, TV can bring emotional relief to the anxious. The programs that made people feel especially good were largely the same ones they used to overcome bad moods, with comedy again the choice of more than half the respondents.

People were also asked whether they had "seen anything on TV that was really exciting" to them, and 60 per cent responded positively - 57 per cent of the adults and 63 per cent of the adolescents. The responses were affected somewhat by class; professionals and the college educated found TV more exciting than those with lower status jobs and less education. So did adolescents from professional homes and with professional expectations. Adults who said they had more problems than others their age found TV exciting less often than those who said they had fewer problems; but adolescents who thought they had more problems than their peers found TV exciting more often than the rest of the adolescent sample. Among both age groups, people who used TV as an anti-depressant found it exciting slightly more often than those who did not. People in both age groups who enjoyed doing things by themselves did not find TV more exciting than those who preferred group or diacid activities.

There was considerable diversity of opinion about what kinds of programs were exciting. No one kind of program was mentioned frequently, although about 20 per cent picked science fiction, suspense, mystery, and spy stories. This was particularly the case with the adolescents sample. Fourteen per cent picked news of disasters, including war; 9 per cent, fictional accounts of war, adventure, and westerns; and 10 per cent, sports. Higher status and better educated respondents defined exciting differently; they found TV adaptations of plays and informative documentaries exciting more often than suspense or adventure programs.

Teenagers who thought they had more problems than others of their age found war, disaster, and adventure (fictional and non-fictional) exciting in larger proportions than teenagers who thought they had fewer problems; adults who used TV to overcome depression found science fiction and other suspense stories exciting more often than the rest of the sample, as did adults and teenagers who enjoyed being by themselves.

People who reported being excited by TV were asked what about the program mentioned excited them. Judging from the major themes in their response, 13 per cent pointed to fighting, killing, and violence; approximately 10 per cent each to suspense, supernatural, or shocking occurrences; to heroic behavior on the part of an individual; and to action and competition between characters in general. Interestingly enough, women mentioned fighting and violence as well as suspense more often than men; men preferred heroic behavior more often than women. Adolescents mentioned fighting and violence twice as often as adults; adults mentioned heroic behavior twice as often as adolescents. Class differences were hard to determine because the cells were small, but there is some indication that fighting and violence is more exciting to blue collar respondents, particularly adolescents, than to others. Adults who thought they had more problems than others their age shunned fighting and violence altogether; among teenagers the proportion was no higher than for respondents who thought they had fewer problems. In fact, people who described themselves as having more problems than others their age were excited by much the same programs in the same proportion as the rest of the sample.

In another attempt to find out how much TV affects people, the respondents were asked; "Do you ever feel blue because of a TV program you watched?" Fifty-two per cent said that TV had this effect -- 44 per cent of the adults, but 59 per cent of the adolescents -- thus indicating again that adolescents seem to be affected more by TV than are adults. Similarly, women were more affected than men, and although younger adolescents did not say they felt blue more often than older adolescents, people over 60 were much less affected than the other adults. Once again, class played some role; there was no variation by occupational level or adolescent job expectation, but the college educated said they felt blue because of a TV program more often than the high school educated, and those with eight years of school or less said they felt blue least often. White adults said they felt blue more often than Negro adults; among teenagers it was the reverse, thus suggesting either that race does not affect this reaction, or that Negro adolescents are more depressed by "white TV" than adults. Frequency of viewing made no differences.

People who feel they have more problems than others their age were not depressed by TV in larger numbers than the rest of the sample, although there was a statistically insignificant trend in this direction among adolescents. But people who used TV as an anti-depressant said they felt blue as a result of watching TV more often than those who did not use TV for this purpose, particularly among the adults; 54 per cent of the former and 35 per cent of the latter said that TV made them feel blue.

Two kinds of programs were mentioned as making people feel blue. Dramatic stories, including soap operas, were mentioned by 66 per cent of the women, (and by 46 per cent of the men). News and documentaries affected men somewhat more than women; adults (who watch such programs more often) were affected more than adolescents. This would help to explain why people are not that interested in watching TV news, a point that will be further discussed in Chaptèr·III.

A couple of other questions were used to investigate how much TV affects people, particularly adolescents. First, both samples were asked to rate themselves as "conversationalists," that is, whether they felt themselves to be above average, average or below average. Seventy per cent of the adults rated themselves as average, 22 per cent as above average, and 9 per cent as below average, and the proportions were not affected by whether the respondents were heavy or light TV viewers. Among the adolescents, however, the answers were different. First, only 50 per cent thought they were average; 32 per cent thought they were above average and 17 per cent below average. Among light viewers in the adolescent sample (those watching less than six hours a week), 60 per cent rated themselves as average. Among the heavy viewers (those watching twenty or more hours a week), only 39 per cent thought they were average conversationalists, while 41 per cent thought they were above average and 21 per cent below average. The findings are the same for those watching 15-20 hours a week. Thus, there appears to be a correlation between frequency of TV viewing and skill in conversation (or at least positive self-image relating to skill in conversation). Although the existence of such a correlation does not necessarily imply a cause-effect relationship, the findings suggest that TV may help in developing adolescents' conversational skills or confidence in such skills.

The adolescents were also asked two questions dealing with their willingness to resist social pressure. The first question asked, "What about yourself would you least consider changing, even if people tried very hard to make you do so?" Twenty-three per cent of the respondents said they would make no change, but among light viewers, only 13 per cent said so, and among heavy viewers, the proportion rose to 27 per cent. The difference is not statistically significant, and is only suggestive, for other factors may be much more important in resisting the pressure to change. The adolescents were also asked, "Is there anything about yourself that people like that you would want to change?" Forty per cent said they would change something, and thus go against the social stream. Among light TV viewers, only 27 per cent said they would change; among heavy viewers, 39 per cent did so. Perhaps some heavy TV viewers seem to be able to fight conformity more, although it should be emphasized that these findings are correlations; they do not demonstrate a cause-effect relationship.

Finally, people were asked how often things seen on TV appeared in their dreams, a question that taps, however primitively, the extent to which the medium reaches the unconscious. Of course, people may not want to admit that they dream about TV, and of course they do not remember all their dreams, so that the question is little more than an approximation of the actual extent of TV - inspired dreams. Most people said they dreamed about TV programs never or only very seldom; 61 per cent of the adults said never and 31 per cent said very seldom. Among adolescents only 20 per cent said never, and 52 per cent said very seldom. Only 8 per cent of the adults but 27 per cent of the adolescents said they dreamed about TV very often or sometimes, another indication that

TV affects teenagers more than adults. The data suggest that the 14-15 age group is most affected by TV by this criterion.

Class did not affect the amount of dreaming, nor did the conscious excitement generated by TV, for people who said they had seen something exciting on TV did not dream about TV in larger numbers than the rest of the sample. Among those who saw something exciting, war and adventure programs as well as science fiction generated TV dreams more than news programs, including news about war and disaster. Similarly, people who said they felt blue as a result of a TV program did not dream about TV more than others. People who said they had more problems than others their age did, however, dream about TV more than those who said they had fewer problems. Among both adults and adolescents, 10 per cent of those who said they had more problems had TV dreams, as compared to 2 per cent and 6 per cent of those who said they had fewer problems. The differences are not statistically significant, however.

Frequency of viewing made a difference; adult heavy viewers dreamed somewhat more about TV than light viewers, and adolescent heavy viewers dreamed about TV very often and sometimes twice as much as light viewers. None of those watching four hours or less; 19 per cent of those watching 4-6 hours and 37 per cent of those watching twenty hours or more said they dreamed about TV often or sometimes.

Among adolescent respondents, it was also possible to compare the therapeutic use of TV with attitudes toward present TV programming, to discover whether respondents who liked most present TV would also find TV more helpful - and whether people who find TV helpful also like most of what is now offered. The data reveal that respondents who liked most available TV programs did not find TV more helpful in understanding a personal problem than those who liked few or hardly any programs, although those who liked a great many reported the greatest amount of help. The people who found TV helpful did not like available TV more often than those who had not found TV helpful, however.

The adolescents who thought they had more problems than their peers did not like available TV programs more or less than people who thought they had fewer problems; nor did people who liked most TV have more problems than those who liked it hardly at all. Respondents who used TV as an anti-depressant liked available programs somewhat more than those who did not use TV for this purpose, but the respondents who liked most or a great many of the available TV programs used TV as an anti-depressant more often than those who liked few or hardly any of the programs. As might be expected, respondents who said they felt "especially good" because of a TV program they watched liked present TV programs somewhat more than those who had not felt so gratified, but the people who liked most TV programs did not feel especially good more often than those who liked fewer TV programs. Curiously, people who have been depressed by a TV program like most TV programs somewhat more often than those who have not been depressed.

Adolescents who dream very often about things they have seen on TV do not like present programs any more or less than those who dream about TV infrequently, but people who never dream about TV like it considerably less. Conversely, the respondents who like most TV programs do not dream about TV any more than those who like present TV less or not at all.

Finally, people who enjoy doing things more by themselves are less satisfied with TV than those who like group activities, and slightly less satisfied than those who enjoy activities with one other person.

In other words, the amount of satisfaction with TV was sometimes but not always related to emotional consequences. People who use TV for help or for emotional relief tend to like TV a little more than those who do not, but people who like present TV a lot do not thereby make use of it for therapy or dream about it.

SCHOOL USE OF TV BY ADOLESCENTS

The adolescent sample was asked whether TV was helpful to their schoolwork, and, in a series of questions about changes they wanted in the school, whether they would like TV personalities as teachers.

Adolescents were asked, "What have you seen on TV that helped you with your schoolwork - other than programs assigned by your teacher?" Fifty-one per cent of the sample said they had seen nothing on TV that helped with schoolwork, another 7 per cent were vague or did not answer the question; 32 per cent then, had seen something helpful. Those who responded positively to the question were asked how TV had helped with the schoolwork. Among helpful programs, 12 per cent of the whole sample mentioned news and documentaries; 8 per cent, science programs; 7 per cent, "cultural programs," i.e., programs about history or the humanities. Another 8 per cent mentioned various kinds of entertainment programs. Only 3 per cent mentioned programs appearing on Channels 13 or 31, the city's educational channels.

The respondents' school status did not affect their answers; breakdowns by grade, kind of academic program (general, vocational, commercial, or academic), and grade average in school showed no pattern, suggesting that what adolescents did in school and what they saw on TV were two separate worlds. There was no difference in response to this question by adolescents with professional, white collar or blue collar job expectations, or by differences in parental occupation.

Respondents were not very specific about the kind of help they received from TV. Fifty-eight per cent of those who were helped said that TV provided more information, or more detailed information on a topic of interest, or just that TV helped them; 24 per cent went further, and said that TV provided explanations rather than just information; and 10 per cent said that TV helped with homework, papers, or tests. Interestingly enough, only 5 per cent mentioned TV as a medium, saying that a visual presentation provided help beyond what they had gotten from school textbooks.

The responses to questions about how adolescents would like to see their schools change will not be described in detail here, but some of their implications for TV can be suggested. About 65 per cent of the sample suggested courses that are not taught now; the largest number of courses mentioned, 32 per cent were academic ones. Even so, a similar proportion were courses with direct occupational implications, i.e., those which sounded more like job titles than courses. Sixteen per cent were courses about sex and marriage; another 31 per cent were courses about other personal and interpersonal relationships; 11 per cent were courses about leisure activities and other aspects of "youth culture." There is no suggestion that TV could teach these subjects better than the schools; these data only indicate the demand that exists for them.

On the question of changes in the ways of running the school and rules about how students should behave, the major response asked for something which TV has in abundance, at least for the viewer - freedom from restrictions. Of the 63 per cent who wanted change, fully 81 per cent said they wanted more freedom - in what to wear, in course selection, class attendance, going out for lunch - and just more freedom and fewer rules in general.

Forty-nine per cent of the respondents (43 per cent of the boys, and 54 per cent of the girls) said that they had seen people on TV whom they would like to have as teachers. Seventh and 8th graders were more interested in TV personalities as possible teachers than older students (except 12th-graders), and those in vocational and academic programs were more interested than those in general and commercial courses. There was no pattern when the data were broken down by future job expectation, but students from professional homes and from skilled and semiskilled blue collar homes were more in favor of TV personalities as teachers than students from white collar backgrounds, and students from unskilled blue collar backgrounds were least interested.

The students who watched TV more frequently wanted TV personalities as teachers somewhat more often than the infrequent viewers; 40 per cent of those who watched less than four hours a week, but 57 per cent of those who watched 20 hours or more during the week. Although we expected that students who preferred "fantasy-oriented" TV would be more partial to TV personalities as teachers than those who preferred "reality-oriented" TV, the obverse was true, if one question about a choice of hypothetical programs is any indication. Fifty-seven per cent of the adolescents who preferred "a story about people that live the way most people do" favored TV personalities as teachers, as compared to 47 per cent of those who preferred "a story about people that have unusual adventures."

The respondents were quite clear as to whom they wanted as teachers; most of them mentioned specific names. The largest proportion, 37 per cent, mentioned individual actors, particularly stars of favorite TV series. Another 18 per cent mentioned news announcers and commentators, mainly men like David Brinkley, Chet Huntley, and Walter Cronkite. Fifteen per cent wanted comedians, especially Lucille Ball and Danny Kaye; 7 per cent mentioned Mr. Novak, the teacher in a TV series about school that was shown a few years ago, and another 10 per cent mentioned characters in other TV series. On the whole, boys mentioned male TV personalities, and girls, female ones.

The students were also asked why they wanted the TV personality as a teacher, and their answers suggest that they were responding to what they saw in the TV personalities, rather than to TV itself. Only 3 per cent wanted their choice because he or she was glamorous, or a star, and would thus bring the show business mystique into the school. The largest proportion, 32 per cent, pointed to the TV star's personality; describing him or her as "funny, kind, attractive, or sweet." Many of the respondents said in fact that they wanted a comedian or actor because he was funny and humorous, suggesting that they wanted more laughter in the classroom although some said he or she is "cute," or "handsome," indicating some sexual attraction to the TV personality. Twenty-one per cent picked the TV personality because of his skills -- his expertise or knowledge of his field - a criterion they also sought in school teachers. Seventeen per cent picked the TV personality because they felt he understood students, was patient with them, or knew how to make them learn - another quality also wanted from school teachers. Fourteen per cent said they wanted the TV personality because he could communicate, is interesting and knows how to teach and how to explain things to people.

We compared the qualities ascribed to TV personalities selected with the qualities listed by respondents as desirable in teachers (when asked the kind of teacher they would want if they could change their school) and found only partial congruence, suggesting that the respondents were reacting to the particular TV personalities, rather than shaping their preferences for teacher behavior by what they saw on TV. For example, of the students who wanted more expert schoolteachers, only 26 per cent picked the TV personality they wanted as a teacher for being an expert; of those who wanted a teacher who knew how to teach and communicate, 36 per cent picked a TV personality because of his communication skill; and of those who wanted a teacher who understood students, only 15 per cent picked a TV personality they thought had these qualities. When it came to personality factors there was more congruence; of those who wanted a livelier teacher with more of a sense of humor, 57 per cent picked a TV personality with these characteristics.

In other words, students seem to be saying that they know what kinds of teachers they want, and that their criteria are by no means derived from TV - or from the TV figures they would like to see as teachers. Except for the students who wanted a teacher with "more personality," just over half of whom also picked a TV figure with that quality, the students were indicating what kinds of teachers they wanted in school, and parenthetically voting for a TV personality who might have entirely different virtues.

CHAPTER III: THE USES OF TELEVISION NEWS

AMOUNT OF TV NEWS VIEWING

Respondents were first asked about the frequency with which they watched two types of news programs, the half-hour network news programs that come on in the early evening ("The Huntley-Brinkley Report" on NBC, "The CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite," and the then "Peter Jennings with the News" on ABC), and the 5-to-30 minute station programs which come on at various hours during the day giving national and international as well as local news.

Table 1 reports the frequencies with which our respondents watched these programs, and compares them to frequencies for general TV viewing and "reading the national and international news pages of a newspaper." As other studies have shown, news programs are viewed less often than other TV programs, particularly by adolescents. In fact, adolescents watch TV as often as adults, but they watch news programs much less often. Moreover, both adults and adolescents reported that they read the papers more frequently than they watched TV news, questioning a recent Roper finding that TV has replaced newspapers as the public's primary news source.*

Actually, our data suggest that the different news media attract different audiences. All the media seem to attract older people; news may be of more interest to them than to younger people, for 83 per cent of men and 62 per cent of women over sixty reported near-daily newspaper reading.

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*Television Information Office, "The Public's View of Television and Other Media, 1959-1964," (New York: TIO, no date), p. 2.

TABLE 1

A COMPARISON OF USE OF NEWS MEDIA, FOR ADULTS AND ADOLESCENTS
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

Frequency	Type of News Media							
	General TV Viewing		Network News Reports		Station News Reports		Newspaper Reading	
	Adults	Adoles.	Adults	Adoles.	Adults	Adoles.	Adults	Adoles.
Nearly every day	74	74	52	25	49	32	69	45
2-3 times a week	23	23	16	24	25	22	16	24
Once a week	2	3	6	11	9	14	8	13
Every couple of weeks	0	0	1	5	5	10	1	6
Less often than that	0	0	6	9	7	11	3	7
Never	0	0	20	25	4	11	3	5
N	(202)	(202)	(202)	(202)	(202)	(202)	(202)	(202)

Network news also attracts older people, but these programs are watched more by women, and by others who read the papers less, i.e., people of lower socio-economic level and education. Thus, 61 per cent of the men and 91 per cent of the women over sixty watched one of the network news shows nearly every day, compared to only 24 per cent of the boys 14 to 15 years old and 29 per cent of the girls of that age. Although newspaper reading was somewhat higher among the college-educated and professionals than among white-collar and blue-collar workers, the reverse was true for network news viewing; blue-collar workers reported watching nearly every day in larger numbers than professionals and in the same numbers as white-collar workers. Among adolescents, respondents from blue-collar homes said they watched nearly every day more often than those from white-collar backgrounds and about as much as those from professional and managerial backgrounds. Similar findings developed by educational level among adults; three-quarters of the people with 0 to 8 grades of schooling watched nearly every day, as compared to 42 per cent of the high school educated and 46 per cent of the college educated.

Frequency of general TV viewing was related to frequency of news viewing. Heavy TV viewers tuned to the network news programs more than light viewers; 36 per cent of those watching TV less than four hours during the week and 60 per cent of those watching twenty or more hours a week said they watched the network news nearly every day. The same pattern was reported among adolescents, although at a much lower scale: 7 per cent of the least frequent viewers and 30 per cent of the most frequent viewers tuned in regularly (nearly every day) to the network news. Moreover, light TV viewers read the papers regularly somewhat more often than heavy viewers (82 per cent of those watching four hours or less; 68 per cent of those watching twenty hours or more).

The frequency of TV news viewing was also associated with a low amount of newspaper reading. Although 77 per cent of those watching the network news nearly every day also read the paper that often, only 58 per cent who watch once a week read the paper nearly every day. (Conversely, 58 per cent of the regular newspaper readers watch network news regularly, as compared to 47 per cent of those who read the papers only once a week). The differences are not large, the pattern is not linear, and it does not hold for adolescents, but the frequency of getting the news from one source reduces the frequency of getting it from another. Thus, 77 per cent of the adults who watch network news less than once every couple of weeks read the paper nearly every day, suggesting again that the two media attract somewhat different audiences.

Much the same results were reported about viewing station news programs. As Table 1 indicates, these programs are watched regularly by a larger proportion of people than the network news programs, but then there are many more such programs at various parts of the day. Female members of the sample watched slightly more often than male ones, and by and large, the proportion of regular viewers increased with age, peaking at sixty plus. There were no significant class differences among adults; among teenagers, those from professional homes watched more than those from white-collar homes, and those from blue-collar homes watched regularly less often than either of the other groups.

Watching station news programs varied with the amount of watching one of the three network programs. Of the people who watched the network programs nearly every day, 53 per cent also tuned to station news programs that often, although the proportion was not much lower for less frequent viewers of the network shows. Also, 56 per cent of these never watching network news tune into one of the other news programs, suggesting two kinds of audiences,--one that watches all kinds of TV news, and another that limits itself to the brief newscasts. Five per cent of the adults and 14 per cent of the teenagers said they never watched either kind of newscast.

Despite the wide prevalence of TV news viewing, the amount of interest in the news programs is not intense. People were asked, "if you could not watch any of these newscasts for several weeks, would this bother you a great deal, somewhat, or hardly at all?" Among respondents who watched the network news program, 56 per cent said "hardly at all," 25 per cent said "somewhat," and 19 per cent said "a great deal."

Female respondents would be bothered more than male ones, and adults and old people considerably more than teenagers. In fact, 46 per cent of the adults responded "hardly at all;" 25 per cent, "somewhat;" and 28 per cent, "a great deal." Among the adolescents, the figures were 67 per cent, 26 per cent and 8 per cent. Occupational background made no difference, but adults with grade school or high school education would be bothered more than college attenders. Regular viewers of the news shows would be bothered more than infrequent ones, of course, although among adults even 40 per cent of the regular viewers said they would be bothered "hardly at all," and among adolescents, 61 per cent of the regular viewers responded this way.

We had expected that regular newspaper readers would be least bothered by missing the network news, but this was not the case; irregular readers missed TV news somewhat less. This suggests again a bimodal population, one which seeks news in all media; another which seeks it in only one, but is bothered little if it misses the news even then.

The amount of concern about missing the news was even less among people who said they watched the network news less often than every couple of weeks, but did watch the station newscasts. Seventy-one per cent said they would hardly be bothered at all by missing the station newscasts they watched more often; 14 per cent said "somewhat;" and 15 per cent said "a great deal." There was little difference between adults and adolescents, or between regular and irregular viewers. Among adults who watch the station news nearly every day, 21 per cent said they would be bothered a great deal by missing it; among adolescents 11 per cent said so. Regular newspaper readers would be less bothered than irregular ones, but then they would not find short newscasts very illuminating.

REASONS FOR CHOOSING BETWEEN NEWS PROGRAMS

The nature of the interest in the news is suggested by a question which asked why people watched one network or station newscast rather than another. The analysis of the open-ended questions distinguished between reasons having to do with the quality of news content, the characteristics of the newscasters, and unrelated factors (for example, the fact that the program appeared at a convenient time, or before and after a favorite entertainment program on a favorite channel). The viewers of station news explained their reason for choosing the program they did as follows: 4 per cent mentioned the quality of the news content, 25 per cent the characteristics of the newscaster, 18 per cent because of the time it was on (84 per cent said they watched the late-evening shows, between 10 P.M. and 1 A.M.) and 46 per cent because of the channel on which it was shown.

Reasons for choosing one network newscaster over another were about the same. The analysis is complicated by the fact that in New York, Huntley-Brinkley and Cronkite are on at the same time, so that time is not a factor in choosing. Comparing the choice between Huntley-Brinkley and Cronkite, where time is no factor, 6 per cent of the adults mentioned the news content, 54 per cent mentioned the characteristics of the newscaster, and 22 per cent the channel. (The rest gave a variety of reasons). Comparing the choice between Huntley-Brinkley and Jennings, where time is a factor, 5 per cent mentioned news content, 33 per cent the quality of the newscaster, 15 per cent the channel, and 35 per cent the time. Comparing choices between Cronkite and Jennings, the proportions were about the same: 4 per cent, 37 per cent, 14 per cent, and 30 per cent. In all instances, adolescents gave the same reasons in roughly the same proportions. It is clear, then, that when time is a factor, half the viewers watch for reasons having nothing to do with program; when time is not a factor, about a quarter do so.

It is obvious that people choose between network news programs on the basis of newscaster characteristics, not news content. The respondents were asked which of the three network newscasts they watched more often, and the rank order is the same as that then reported by rating studies. Huntley-Brinkley was chosen by 36 per cent of the sample, Cronkite was slightly behind, being chosen by 32 per cent, and Jennings was last, chosen by 26 per cent. There was a slight but statistically insignificant pattern by sex; male sample members said they watched Cronkite more often in slightly larger numbers than female sample members. The latter chose Huntley-Brinkley or Jennings somewhat more often. Age was a more important factor in newscast preference, however. Limiting the analysis to men, half of those over sixty chose Cronkite, 23 per cent Huntley-Brinkley, and only 5 per cent, Jennings. Adults 21-59 chose almost equally between the former two, but only 19 per cent watched Jennings, whereas the adolescents chose Jennings, the youngest of the network newscasters more often than the others. In the total adult sample, 39 per cent picked Huntley-Brinkley, 35 per cent Cronkite, and 17 per cent Jennings; in the adolescent sample, 35 per cent picked Jennings, 33 per cent Huntley-Brinkley, and 28 per cent Cronkite. (Five per cent of the adolescents and 4 per cent of the adults said they watched no single program more than another).

Class differences provide a better clue to which program is chosen. Table 2 shows the choices for adults by several occupational levels, and for adolescents by parental occupational levels. The table indicates that there is no simple pattern by class, although there is some suggestion that Huntley-Brinkley attracts people with higher job status; Cronkite, people with low job status; and Jennings, more of those in the middle. There are many exceptions, however, and adolescents do not choose like adults.

TABLE 2

CHOICE OF NEWSCASTER AND OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL*
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

News-caster	Adults (Occupational Level)						All
	Profes-sionals	Techni-cians Semi-professionals	Clerical -Sales Workers	Skilled Blue-Collar Workers	SemiSkilled Blue-Collar Workers	Unskilled Blue-Collar Workers	
Huntley-Brinkley	58	36	50	29	40	42	39
Cronkite	14	18	25	46	30	39	35
Jennings	14	46	10	13	20	15	17
Watch Equally	14	0	10	8	5	0	5
N	(7)	(11)	(20)	(24)	(44)	(26)	(150)
	Adoles-cents		(Parental Occupational Level)				
Huntley-Brinkley	22	20	53	35	36	15	33
Cronkite	33	0	22	41	29	31	28
Jennings	44	80	26	18	32	46	35
Watch equally	0	0	0	6	0	4	[illegible]
N	(9)	(5)	(23)	(17)	(28)	(26)	(131)

*Percentages do not add up to 100 since "don't knows" are excluded. Since cells are small for some occupations, not all occupational levels are tabulated here. The category "All" includes all occupational levels, however.

When one looks at adult preference by educational background, however, the class pattern becomes clearer. Of the people with college, 55 per cent chose Huntley-Brinkley, 27 per cent Cronkite, and 15 per cent Jennings. Conversely, among people with eight grades of schooling or less, 33 per cent pick Huntley-Brinkley, 50 per cent Cronkite, and 11 per cent Jennings.

In short, the better educated gravitate toward Huntley-Brinkley; the least educated toward Cronkite. The break comes at high school. Of those with some high school, 38 per cent watch Huntley-Brinkley, 41 per cent Cronkite, and 10 per cent Jennings; of those with high school diplomas, however, 35 per cent watch Huntley-Brinkley, only 32 per cent Cronkite, and 26 per cent Jennings. Again, there are no absolute patterns, but the tendencies are clear: the Huntley-Brinkley audience increases with higher education, Cronkite's decreases, and Jennings gets more than his overall share from people in the middle.

These patterns are reflected by other data. The people who read the papers nearly every day (the better educated) watch Huntley-Brinkley more; the people who read the papers once a week or less often are almost entirely in Cronkite's audience (63%). The patterns are roughly the same for adolescents. When it comes to frequency of TV news viewing, however, there are no patterns, at least among adults, except that the proportion choosing Huntley-Brinkley and Cronkite drops off with less frequent viewing and Jennings' proportion increases so that 33 per cent of the once-a-week viewers pick Jennings. (Even so, each newscaster's total audience is made up mostly of regulars: 74 per cent of Huntley-Brinkley's viewers watch regularly, 19 per cent 2 to 3 times a week, and 7 per cent once a week; for Cronkite, the proportions are 72 per cent, 19 per cent, 6 per cent, and another 4 per cent "every couple of weeks;" for Jennings, 65 per cent, 19 per cent, and 15 per cent.)

Among adolescents, regular viewers do not choose one program over another, but those who watch once a week or less show up in Cronkite's corner more often. The adolescent audience is also less regular; for example, of Huntley-Brinkley's adolescent audience, 40 per cent are regulars, 37 per cent watch 2 to 3 times a week, 19 per cent once a week, and 5 per cent every couple of weeks, and the proportions are similar for the other two news programs.

People were asked with open-ended questions to explain why they chose the newscaster they watched rather than one of the others, and then were asked again why they chose him over the third man. Combining the answers made it possible to code and tabulate an overall frequency of the various reasons: time, channel, news content, and newscaster characteristics. Among the various newscaster characteristics, three stand out: news skills, communication skills, and personality. By news skill, I mean being a better or more experienced news-gatherer, by communication skill, I mean being a better news teller. By personality, I mean such responses as being pleasant, kind, young, or sympathetic. It should be noted that men like Cronkite or Huntley actually do little or no news-gathering--they only write and tell the news--so that the distinction between news and communication skill is in the mind of the respondent rather than a real difference, unless the respondent was referring to the individual correspondents whom the newscasters call on to give news from different parts of the country or the world.

The reasons respondents gave for choosing the newscaster they watched most often are shown in Table 3. As the table indicates, there are relatively few differences in the qualities associated with each newscaster; people tend to see them as being more or less alike, partly, of course, because they or their programs are more or less alike.

TABLE 3

REASONS FOR CHOOSING A NETWORK NEWSCASTER, BY NEWSCASTER
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

Reason	Adults: Newscaster Chosen			Adolescents: Newscaster Chosen		
	Huntley-Brinkley	Cronkite	Jennings	Huntley-Brinkley	Cronkite	Jennings
Time	21	19	34	29	11	32
Channel	20	28	17	23	20	14
News content	5	10	4	6	9	1
Newscaster: his news skill	17	13	28	16	20	24
Newscaster: his communication skill	17	21	15	12	22	22
Newscaster: his personality	10	6	2	10	13	4
Other	10	4	0	4	4	3
N	(94)	(86)	(47)	(69)	(45)	(74)

Incidentally, the one quality that most distinguishes Huntley-Brinkley from the other newscasts did not seem important to the respondents. Five per cent of the adults and 4 per cent of the adolescents preferred having two broadcasters, but 6 per cent and 4 per cent said they liked Cronkite because he was by himself. Nor did Huntley-Brinkley receive more choices on the basis of personality or communication skills than the other two newscasters; if respondents liked Brinkley's dry and satiric approach, and Huntley's straight reporting, a similar proportion found different personality and communication qualities among the other two newscasters equally worthy.

In order to compare class patterns with reasons, I tabulated reasons adults gave for their choice of newscasters by educational achievement, expecting to find that the better-educated would give more news content and newscaster-oriented reasons than the rest. This did not turn out to be the case. In each group, about half chose the program they did because of time or channel; 41 per cent among the least educated, 47 per cent among the medium educated, and 47 per cent among the best educated. The choice of programs on the basis of news content was also similar; 14 per cent, 8 per cent, and 6 per cent, respectively. Only when it came to news skill and communication skill was there a difference, with the lesser educated paying more attention to communication skill, the high school educated paying more attention to news skill, and the college group split. Among the least educated, 14 per cent cited news skill and 38 per cent communication skill; among the medium educated, 23 cited news skill and 12 per cent communication skill; and among the best educated, 11 per cent cited the former and 9 per cent the latter. Moreover, none of the least educated chose their newscaster on the basis of personality, but 6 per cent of the high school and 15 per cent of the college educated did so.

Yet whatever newscaster they choose, people seem not to miss him if they cannot watch. About half the people said they would be bothered "hardly at all" by missing their favorite news program, although about 30 per cent of the Huntley-Brinkley and Cronkite viewers said they would miss their programs "a great deal" as compared to only 12 per cent of the Jennings viewers. Adolescents said they would miss their favorite a great deal in equal (and small) proportions, but 78 per cent said they would miss Cronkite hardly at all, as compared to 66 per cent for Huntley-Brinkley and 57 per cent for Jennings.

These data are more interesting perhaps for what they do not show than for what they do show. No newscaster obtains a majority of the audience, however it is cut, and of the reasons people give for choosing one newscaster over another, few would distinguish one man (and one program) from another. I suspect that these data tell us two things. First, even though people view the network newscasts frequently, their interest in the newscasts or the newscaster is not intense. Second, the choice of newscaster does not seem to be significant; class differences put more high status people in Huntley-Brinkley's audience and more low status people in Cronkite's, but this may well be due as much to feelings about the network as to feelings about the newscaster, for every network attracts somewhat different socioeconomic levels in the audience. Third, since the reasons people give for choosing one newscaster over another do not differ significantly by newscaster, what they see in the newscaster of their choice may be as much a result of their projections as of his image. Of course, if the three news programs were radically different in content and format - which they are not - one would expect larger differences in type of audience and type of reason for choosing the newscaster. But given the lack of differences between the programs, people seem to choose one, and then see qualities in that program which justify their choice. What they make of the newscaster seems more important to people than what he is really like.

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NEWSCASTER AND AUDIENCE

A study of the educational use of the mass media ought to discover what people learn from the mass media, but as noted before, people cannot be asked this question directly. This is particularly true with respect to news, for they see so much that they cannot possibly tell an interviewer what they have learned, and whether this learning mattered to them.

Instead, we tried to study some aspects of the relationship between the newscaster and news program and the audience, particularly how the audience perceives the newscaster and how it reacts to him, and how much it is influenced by him. How people are influenced is still not known; the conventional wisdom argues that audiences take their opinions from the mass media, whereas sociological findings suggest that people practice selective perception, choosing the newscaster who represents what they believe and misperceiving what he says in line with their own beliefs. Our data indicate that the sociological view largely, based on responses to questions about network newscasters, is more correct.

Perception of the Newscaster's Opinions and Respondent's Opinions on Three Issues

First, we asked people how they perceived the newscaster's views on three important issues and his political party preference, and compared these data with the respondents' own views and party preference. If their perceptions and their own opinions were similar, one could argue that they are influenced by the media, or that perfect selective perception is taking place, but the data suggest that neither is the case. People's perceptions of the newscaster diverged from their own opinions, but there was a slight tendency for people with particular opinions to feel that the newscaster agreed with them.

Moreover, since newscasters, particularly on the three network news programs, attempt to be objective in their news treatment and neutral with respect to opinions, respondents who feel that newscasters are not neutral may either be perceiving the latent judgments that creep into all news gathering or reporting, or they may be projecting their own opinions on the newscaster. Our hunch is that the latter is more often the case.

The initial question on newscaster-audience relationship asked people how they thought the newscaster they watched most often felt on three issues--the bombing of North Viet Nam, the President's civil rights program, and a less well-known issue, giving foreign aid to Communist nations. The next question asked people how they themselves felt on these issues.

The responses to the bombing issues are reported in Table 4. The data show, first, that only a minority see the newscaster as neutral, and that there is considerable divergence between the respondent's perception of the newscaster's opinion and respondent's own opinion. Moreover, there is considerable difference between the adult and adolescent perceptions of the newscasters, and a slight difference in the opinion of the two age groups. Since the two age groups are watching the same three newscasters, at least some of the respondents must either be misperceiving the newscasters' opinions or projecting their own views on the newscasters.

TABLE 4

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S OPINION AND RESPONDENT'S OWN OPINION ON THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIET NAM (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Adults		Adolescents	
	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion
For	27	49	33	47
Against	22	43	40	48
Neutral	21	5	8	5
Don't know	30	3	19	1
N	(152)	(152)	(129)	(129)

This is brought out more clearly in Table 5, where perceptions on specific newscasters are compared to the opinions of the respondents watching these newscasters. There was considerable divergence of the perceptions of different newscasters, but respondents' opinions were pretty much the same, particularly among the adults. Perception and opinion came together only slightly; thus adult Huntley-Brinkley viewers saw the pair as for the bombing least often, and were themselves for it least often. Cronkite and Jennings viewers thought these newscasters were for the bombing twice as often as opposed, but the respondents themselves were for the bombing by only a 5:4 ratio. Adolescents see the newscasters as against the bombing more often than for it, but their own opinions do not follow those of the newscasters either.

Interestingly enough, both age groups felt that Huntley-Brinkley were neutral more often and for the bombing less often than their two competitors, and that Cronkite was least neutral and most for the bombing. In actual fact, Huntley had publicly described himself as a hawk, and Cronkite had spoken out against escalation of the war, although neither have said so on their news programs. Clearly, people perceive newscasters' opinions inaccurately, but they do not base their perception on their own opinions either.

TABLE 5

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER OPINION AND RESPONDENT'S OWN OPINION ON THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIET NAM, BY NEWSCASTER WATCHED MOST OFTEN (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Adults: Newscaster Watched Most Often					
	Huntley-Brinkley		Cronkite		Jennings	
	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion
For	24	47	36	53	31	50
Against	22	43	21	43	15	42
Neutral	33	5	9	4	19	4
Don't know	21	3	34	0	35	4
N	(58)	(58)	(53)	(53)	(26)	(26)
	Adolescents: Newscaster Watched Most Often					
For	30	47	38	46	32	48
Against	35	42	41	54	44	48
Neutral	16	9	5	0	2	4
Don't know	18	2	16	0	22	0
N	(43)	(43)	(37)	(37)	(46)	(46)

One can look at these data slightly differently, by asking respondents of each view which newscasts they watched more often. Presumably, if they are influenced by the newscaster or project their opinion on him, they would pick the newscaster whose views were closest to theirs, but this is not the case. For example, as Table 5 indicates, the adults felt that Cronkite and Jennings were more pro-bombing and less neutral than Huntley-Brinkley. Even so, the adults who were for the bombing chose the three newscasters in the same proportion as the adults against the bombing; close to 40 per cent chose Huntley-Brinkley and Cronkite; less than 20 per cent picked Jennings. The few respondents with neutral opinions picked Huntley-Brinkley slightly more often than Cronkite, but Jennings even less often even though he was considered more neutral than Cronkite. Adolescents followed the same pattern.

If the media influence people's opinions, regular viewers of these newscasts should show less divergence of perception and opinion than irregular viewers, and more of them should see the newscaster as neutral. Table 6 compares perception and opinion for viewers of all newscasts combined by frequency of viewing.

Among adults, but not among teenagers, regular viewers saw the newscaster as neutral more often, and they also did not know more often, thus suggesting that they were responding to his overt manifest neutrality--but adolescents who were regular viewers perceived the newscasters in just the opposite fashion, the irregular viewers seeing him as neutral more often. Irregular viewers among the adults also saw the newscaster as pro-bombing much more often than regular viewers, and the opinion of regular viewers was closer to their perception of newscaster's opinion than it was among the 2 to 3 times-a-week group, but not that much apart among once-a-week viewers. Among adolescent viewers, however, the most convergence of perception and opinion occurred among the once-a-week viewers, and in neither age group could one say that frequency affected the gap between opinion and perception in a linear fashion.

TABLE 6

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S OPINION AND RESPONDENT'S OWN OPINION ON THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIET NAM, BY FREQUENCY OF VIEWING (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Adults: Frequency of Viewing							
	Nearly Every Day		2 to 3 Times a Week		Once a Week		Less Often*	
	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion
For	20	44	44	56	50	67		
Against	25	45	16	41	8	33		
Neutral	27	7	9	0	8	0		
Don't know	28	3	31	3	33	0		
N	(104)	(104)	(32)	(32)	(12)	(12)		
	Adolescents: Frequency of Viewing							
For	38	50	29	52	18	27	56	44
Against	42	44	42	42	41	69	22	56
Neutral	6	4	8	6	14	5	0	0
Don't know	14	2	21	0	27	0	22	0
N	(50)	(50)	(48)	(48)	(22)	(22)	(9)	(9)

*Cell too small for analysis.

Since frequent viewers tend to come more often from lower status groups, it may be that class is more important than frequency, and that there is greater convergence of opinion and perception with decreasing class level. The data are shown in Tables 7a and 7b.

TABLE 7a

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S OPINION AND RESPONDENT'S OWN OPINION ON THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIET NAM, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Adults (Occupational Level)									
	Professionals		Clerical-Sales		Skilled Blue-Collar		Semiskilled Blue-Collar		Unskilled Blue-Collar	
	Perc.	Opinion	Perc.	Opinion	Perc.	Opinion	Perc.	Opinion	Perc.	Opinion
For	14	71	30	50	38	75	30	45	27	31
Against	57	29	5	25	8	25	30	55	23	62
Neutral	14	0	30	15	13	0	23	0	12	4
Don't know	14	0	35	10	42	0	18	0	39	4
N	(7)	(7)	(20)	(20)	(24)	(24)	(40)	(40)	(26)	(26)
	Adolescents (Parental Occupational Level)									
For	22	57	48	39	24	47	43	57	16	48
Against	22	44	30	48	47	47	39	43	56	48
Neutral	0	0	4	13	12	6	4	0	8	4
Don't know	56	0	17	0	18	0	14	0	20	0
N	(9)	(9)	(23)	(23)	(17)	(17)	(28)	(28)	(25)	(25)
	Adolescents (Job Expectation)*									
For	35	54	32	36	60	70				
Against	41	39	52	56	20	30				
Neutral	4	4	8	8	0	0				
Don't know	20	2	8	0	20	0				
N	(46)	(46)	(25)	(25)	(10)	(10)				

*The lowest blue-collar cells are too small for analysis.

TABLE 7b

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S OPINION AND RESPONDENT'S OWN OPINION ON THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIET NAM BY EDUCATION, ADULTS ONLY (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Years of Schooling					
	0 to 8		9-12		13-17	
	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion
For	24	26	29	53	27	68
Against	29	59	22	43	18	27
Neutral	13	11	22	1	29	3
Don't know	33	3	27	3	27	3
N	(38)	(38)	(72)	(72)	(34)	(34)

The tables show, first, that among adults, perception is not affected by class, but opinion is; the higher status the job and the more years of schooling, the more respondents favor increased bombing. Among adolescents, those from higher status homes and with higher status job expectations favor bombing more than those with white-collar backgrounds and job expectations, but not more than those with blue-collar backgrounds and job expectations. Convergence between perception and opinion does not vary by class; there is, however somewhat more convergence among white-collar adults, the high school educated, adolescents from professional homes, and adolescents with white- and blue-collar job expectations. Except for adolescents with such job expectations, these respondents are the heaviest viewers of network news. This would suggest that convergence may be correlated with class, rather than frequency of viewing, and that the classes which watch TV news most show less difference than others between their perception of the newscaster's opinion and their own opinion. Even so, the convergence is not very close.

The responses on the second issue, the President's civil rights program, show more divergence between perception and opinion than the first issue. As Table 8 indicates, both age groups are favorable and opposed to the program more often than they take the newscasters to be. Once more, adults see the newscasters as neutral more often than the adolescents, although they are themselves no more neutral.

TABLE 8

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S OPINION AND RESPONDENT'S OWN OPINION ON THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Adults		Adolescents	
	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion
For	50	63	60	74
Against	9	21	10	16
Neutral	17	8	6	5
Don't know	24	7	24	4
N	(150)	(150)	(129)	(129)

As before, there was considerable divergence between the perception of the three newscaster's opinions on this issue, but respondents' opinions were much the same. (See Table 9.) Again, viewers saw Cronkite as most "conservative;" they had thought him to favor the bombing more often and they saw him as against the civil rights program more often. Once more, the respondents misperceived newscasters' views, for all the major newscasters try to give neutral presentations on their news programs but are privately in favor of the President's civil rights program. Obviously, Cronkite attracts a more conservative audience, and that audience sees him as more conservative. Thus, of the respondents favoring the civil rights program, 40 per cent chose Huntley-Brinkley, 32 per cent Cronkite, and 19 per cent Jennings; of those against the program, 38 per cent chose Huntley-Brinkley, 44 per cent Cronkite, and 16 per cent Jennings. And although Jennings was considered neutral most often, and Cronkite least often, 42 per cent of the neutral respondents picked Cronkite, the same number Huntley-Brinkley, and only 8 per cent Jennings.

TABLE 9

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S OPINION AND RESPONDENT'S OWN OPINION ON THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM, BY NEWSCASTER WATCHED MOST OFTEN (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Adults: Newscaster Watched Most Often					
	Huntley-Brinkley		Cronkite		Jennings	
	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion
For	53	66	49	57	46	69
Against	3	21	21	26	0	19
Neutral	22	9	2	9	31	4
Don't know	19	3	28	8	23	8
N	(58)	(58)	(53)	(53)	(26)	(26)
	Adolescents: Newscaster Watched Most Often					
For	63	81	62	70	57	74
Against	2	14	16	16	13	15
Neutral	7	5	5	11	7	2
Don't know	28	0	16	3	24	9
N	(43)	(43)	(37)	(37)	(46)	(46)

There was no pattern at all by frequency of viewing the newscasts; the regular adult viewers perceived newscasters in about the same way as irregular viewers, and their own opinions did not vary by frequency of viewing. Among adolescents, the convergence of perception and opinion was highest among the regular and the most irregular viewers. (See Table 10.)

TABLE 10

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S OPINION AND RESPONDENT'S OWN OPINION ON THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM, BY FREQUENCY OF VIEWING (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Adults: Frequency							
	Nearly Every Day		2 to 3 Times a Week		Once a Week		Less Often*	
	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion
For	51	64	47	59	50	67		
Against	11	20	6	22	0	25		
Neutral	19	9	9	9	17	0		
Don't know	18	6	38	9	33	8		
N	(104)	(104)	(32)	(32)	(12)	(12)		
	Adolescents: Frequency							
For	66	66	48	73	59	91	89	89
Against	14	16	6	23	14	5	0	11
Neutral	6	12	8	2	5	0	0	0
Don't know	14	6	38	2	23	5	11	0
N	(50)	(50)	(48)	(48)	(22)	(22)	(9)	(9)

*Cell too small for analysis.

TABLE 11a

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S OPINION AND RESPONDENT'S OWN OPINION ON THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Professionals		Clerical-Sales		Skilled Blue-Collar		Semiskilled Blue-Collar		Unskilled Blue-Collar	
	Perc.	Opinion	Perc.	Opinion	Perc.	Opinion	Perc.	Opinion	Perc.	Opinion
	Adults (Occupational Level)									
For	86	100	65	75	54	42	45	50	34	77
Against	0	0	0	5	0	42	20	42	15	8
Neutral	0	0	10	5	13	17	20	8	12	4
Don't know	14	0	25	15	33	0	15	3	39	12
N	(7)	(7)	(20)	(20)	(24)	(24)	(40)	(40)	(26)	(26)
	Adolescents (Parental Occupational Level)									
For	67	78	61	83	53	53	61	71	48	64
Against	0	11	4	17	12	29	11	18	12	20
Neutral	0	11	4	0	6	6	4	4	12	12
Don't know	33	0	30	0	29	12	25	7	28	4
N	(9)	(9)	(23)	(23)	(17)	(17)	(28)	(28)	(25)	(25)
	Adolescents (Job Expectation)*									
For	72	74	60	68	30	60				
Against	6	17	4	20	20	40				
Neutral	9	9	8	4	10	0				
Don't know	13	0	28	8	40	0				
N	(46)	(46)	(25)	(25)	(10)	(10)				

*The two lowest blue-collar cells are too small for analysis.

TABLE 11b

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S OPINION AND RESPONDENT'S OWN OPINION ON THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM, BY EDUCATION (ADULTS ONLY)
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Years of Schooling					
	0-8		9-12		13-17	
	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion
For	48	57	44	59	71	85
Against	5	18	15	26	0	15
Neutral	11	13	21	7	15	0
Don't know	34	8	19	8	15	0
N	(38)	(38)	(72)	(72)	(34)	(34)

As Tables 11a and 11b indicate, both perception and opinion vary with class directly; the higher the occupational status, the more often viewers see the newscaster as being favorable to the civil rights program, and are themselves for it. This is true for adults by occupation, adolescents by parental occupation, and adolescents by job expectation, and for adults by education as well (although the pattern is not perfectly linear in this instance). There is some convergence of perception and opinion, more by education than by job status among adults, and in all categories among adolescents. Skilled and semi-skilled blue collars diverge in their perception and opinion, however. Unskilled worker respondents are against the civil rights program less often than they believe the newscaster to be, but this cell is predominantly Negro. This is brought out more clearly in Table 12, which indicates that Negroes see the newscaster as less favorable to civil rights than they are, whereas whites see him as more favorable than they are.

TABLE 12

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S OPINION AND RESPONDENT'S OWN OPINION ON THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM, BY RACE
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Adults: Race				Adolescents: Race			
	Whites		Negroes		Whites		Negroes	
	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion
For	48	54	60	100	59	69	61	89
Against	9	27	6	0	10	22	11	4
Neutral	16	9	20	0	7	8	4	0
Don't know	21	9	13	0	24	1	25	7
N	(118)	(118)	(30)	(30)	(91)	(91)	(28)	(28)

The final issue, on the giving of foreign aid to countries behind the Iron Curtain, is less publicized, and here the divergence between perception and opinion is quite large. As Table 13 indicates, respondents were much less favorable to the issue than they perceived newscasters to be.

More adults viewed Cronkite as taking the opposed or *"conservative" position* than the other newscasters, and more saw Huntley-Brinkley as neutral once more. Even so, there was no convergence of perception and opinion; those opposed to foreign aid did not watch Cronkite more often, and those who favored it did not watch Huntley-Brinkley more often. The adolescents saw the newscasters the same way as adults, but the opposed did not watch Cronkite more often than the other newscasters.

Frequency of viewing affected perception; irregular viewers saw the newscaster as neutral more often; irregular viewers saw the newscaster as favoring foreign aid most often; but the pattern existed only among adult viewers.

Frequency of viewing also affected opinion, and in somewhat the same way; regular viewers were neutral more often, but they were also opposed much more often, and opposition did not change with frequency of viewing. Adolescent regular viewers were opposed more often than irregular viewers; perhaps the news had a "hawkish" effect on them.

There was no class difference in the perception of the newscaster's view, but there was in respondents' opinions, thus producing considerable divergence. Professionals favored the foreign aid policy, white-collar workers were most often neutral or did not know, and blue-collar respondents opposed it by an almost 2:1 margin. Among adolescents, no class differences appeared in perception or opinion. Roughly the same pattern appears when responses are analyzed by education. Among adolescents, neither perception nor opinion varied with class in any regular pattern, although adolescents with blue-collar job expectations saw the newscaster as being favorable to the program more often than they favored it.

TABLE 13

NEWSCASTER PERCEPTION AND RESPONDENT OPINION, ON GIVING FOREIGN AID TO COUNTRIES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Adults		Adolescents	
	Perception	Opinion	Perception	Opinion
For	28	33	54	64
Against	15	47	17	31
Don't know	18	12	9	2
Neutral	39	7	19	2
N	(150)	(150)	(129)	(129)

Perception of Newscaster's Party Preference and Respondents' Preferences

Newscaster perception and respondent opinion was studied also by asking people what they perceived the newscaster's party affiliation to be, and which party they themselves were affiliated with. The question read, "Do you think (the newscaster) is a Democrat, Republican, or something else?" and, "How about yourself: are you a Democrat, a Republican, or something else?" Journalists are commonly thought to be predominantly Democrats, and, as Table 14 indicates, both age groups shared this conception, although the largest number did not know. The respondents were predominantly Democratic.

TABLE 14

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S PREFERENCE AND RESPONDENT'S OWN PREFERENCE OF POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

Political Party Affiliation	Adults		Adolescents	
	Perception	Preference	Perception	Preference
Democrat	32	63	49	54
Republican	11	15	19	19
Other	7	8	8	13
Independent	1	9	0	3
Don't know	49	5	26	11
N	(150)	(150)	(129)	(129)

As Table 15 indicates, adult viewers saw the three newscasters as Democrats in about equal proportion, but slightly more saw Cronkite and Jennings as Republicans. There was considerable convergence between perception and preference here, and some viewers were more likely to choose the newscaster whom they considered to have their own party preference. Although the Democrats chose Huntley-Brinkley as often as Cronkite (35 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively), only 18 per cent of the Republicans chose Huntley-Brinkley, as compared to 55 per cent who chose Cronkite. This is a familiar pattern; the more conservative people perceive Cronkite to be more conservative. Class pays a role, too, for the independent voters, who are usually of high status, watched Huntley-Brinkley almost exclusively, and as I noted earlier, this program attracts high status viewers. Adults with college education viewed the newscaster as Democratic somewhat more often than those with less education, but they themselves were in the Republican column more frequently, thus resulting in considerable divergence between perception and opinion.

Frequency of viewing showed a familiar pattern too; the regular viewers said they did not know their newscaster's party affiliation more often than did the irregular viewers, although this is true only for adults. Respondents' party affiliation did not vary with frequency of viewing at all, suggesting that people who watch regularly are more aware of newscaster neutrality, and irregular viewers project an affiliation. Still, they do not entirely project their own preference; 42 per cent of the once-a-week viewers thought the newscaster a Democrat and 25 per cent a Republican, but 50 per cent of these viewers were themselves Democrats and only 8 per cent Republicans.

I noted before that approximately equal proportions of the viewers thought that each of the three major newscasters was a Democrat, and approximately equal proportions thought that each of the three was a Republican. This is particularly interesting because the survey was in the field during the 1967 TV news strike, and people were being interviewed after Chet Huntley made a much-publicized statement in opposition to the strike. One would have expected more people to describe him as a Republican as a result, but they did not; in fact, more people thought Brinkley was a Republican than Huntley. Among the adolescents, a larger proportion did not know where Huntley and Brinkley stood, although they did not think of them as Republicans anymore than they did their competitors.

TABLE 15

PERCEPTION OF NEWSCASTER'S PREFERENCE AND RESPONDENT'S OWN PREFERENCE OF POLITICAL PARTY BY NEWSCASTER WATCHED MOST OFTEN (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

Political Party Preference	Adults: Newscaster Watched Most Often					
	Huntley-Brinkley		Cronkite		Jennings	
	Perception	Preference	Perception	Preference	Perception	Preference
Democrat	33	56	37	66	31	69
Republican	5	7	13	22	15	15
Independent	0	16	0	4	4	4
Don't know	50	5	47	4	46	4
N	(58)	(58)	(53)	(53)	(26)	(26)
	Adolescents: Newscaster Watched Most Often					
Democrat	42	65	57	57	50	46
Republican	14	7	22	22	22	28
Independent	0	5	0	3	0	2
Don't know	37	14	16	5	24	13
N	(43)	(43)	(37)	(37)	(46)	(46)

We asked our respondents directly whether the strike helped them decide what party their newscaster favored, and 82 per cent of those watching network news said no, as did 77 per cent of those who watched station newscasts. We also asked whether newsmen should be allowed to strike, and 36 per cent said yes, 46 per cent said no, while 10 per cent did not know and 7 per cent did not answer. Regular viewers of the network news shows were, predictably, more opposed to the strike, but so were the respondents who never saw such shows. The Cronkite audience was more opposed than those watching the other two news shows, not because Cronkite went out on strike but because his program attracts a more conservative audience. Jennings was also out on strike, but 62 per cent of his viewers favored newsmen striking, as compared to only 34 per cent of Cronkite's viewers. The class data are, however, ambiguous; professionals and semiskilled blue-collar workers were most in favor of their striking; clerical-sales people, and unskilled and skilled blue-collar workers were most opposed.

When people were asked why they felt as they did, those who supported the right to strike gave reasons having little to do with newscasters per se; 69 per cent said they have the right to strike as union members or as Americans; the rest, that they have the right to better themselves. Among opponents of the strike, however, 70 per cent said they were opposed because they needed the newsmen or the news - although there was little interruption or change in the news programs during the strike. Nineteen per cent thought the newscasters earned enough already, 2 per cent said they were professionals who should not strike, and 8 per cent were against strikes in general.

Identification With Station Newscasters

All of the questions just analyzed were also asked of people who watched network news less often than once a fortnight, but did watch station newscasts more often. Since this group totalled only 86, the analysis was less intensive.

Because local newscasters are not stars, and are less well known than the network newscasters, one would expect people to be less certain of their views, and this was the case, for on all three issues and on party affiliation, the proportion of respondents who said they did not know was higher than for network newscasters. Slightly fewer of the respondents ascribed the "liberal" position to the station newscaster, and slightly more the conservative one; they also thought the newscaster was a Democrat somewhat less often than the network newscaster. However, the differences are slight and not statistically significant. The viewers themselves felt about the same way on two of the three issues as those who watched network news - thus indicating that the type of news program they watched had no effect on their opinions. However, 10 per cent fewer were favorable toward the President's civil rights program, 10 per cent fewer were Democrats, and 10 per cent more were Republicans than the network news viewers.

Newscaster Perception and Respondent Opinion: Selective Perception or Influence?

These data can be summarized by a direct comparison between respondents' perception of newscasters' opinions and the respondents' own opinions and preferences--that is, by comparing what proportion agree with what they take to be the view of the newscaster they chose, or, analyzed differently, what proportion who held a certain view chose a newscaster with whom they believed to hold a similar view. The first way of looking at the data gives some indication of whether people are influenced by a newscaster; the second comparison indicates the extent to which people use selective perception in choosing a newscaster who agrees with them. (In either event, of course, they may be exercising selective misperception of the newscaster's privately stated or latent opinions on an issue, and in any event--to the extent that the newscaster's presentations are manifestly neutral--they are projecting an opinion on him.)

The actual data show no clear pattern. Analyzing only adults and network news viewers (the cells are too small for the station news audience), about the same proportion (90 per cent) of people who think the newscaster is for bombing North Viet Nam agree with him; and 90 per cent of the people who favor bombing choose a newscaster who agrees with them. The proportions are similar for those who oppose bombing. On the civil rights issue, there are also no differences. About 90 per cent of those who think the newscaster is for the civil rights program also favor it; a similar proportion of those who favor the civil rights program think the newscaster they watch is also for it. Of those who feel the newscaster is against civil rights, 63 per cent feel likewise; of those who are against civil rights, 59 per cent feel the newscaster is with them.

On these issues, then, people agree with the newscaster they choose, and they also choose the newscaster they agree with in equal amounts. However, the people who are against civil rights feel that the newscaster is with them less often, and they also choose a newscaster who agrees with them less often; perhaps they feel they cannot find a newscaster who agrees with them.

On the foreign aid issue, the pattern is different. Of the people who think their newscaster is for foreign aid, only 67 per cent are for it; but of those who are for foreign aid, 100 per cent think the newscaster they choose agrees with them. This would suggest that selective perception is at work. However, among people who think the newscaster is against foreign aid, 100 per cent are against it too, and only 62 per cent of the people who opposed it choose a newscaster who agrees with them. Here the data would suggest that people are influenced by the newscaster they choose.

The comparison of party affiliation indicates that people who think the newscaster is Democratic agree with him, and people who are Democrats pick a like-minded newscaster. Only a third of the people who think their newscaster is Republican are of that party, however, and 50 per cent of Republicans think their newscaster agrees with them.

These data, then, make it possible to say that people who adopt a conservative position (those who are opposed to civil rights and foreign aid, or those who are Republicans) tend less to agree with the newscaster they choose and also choose the newscaster they agree with less often than do the people who take a liberal position. They may feel themselves to be minorities, and they may feel that they cannot find a compatible newscaster often enough.

The data do not, however, allow us to decide whether respondents are influenced by newscasters or exercise selective perception, for by and large, people agree with the newscaster they choose as often as they choose the newscaster they agree with. Obviously, survey data alone cannot provide the answer; we must study the processes by which audiences choose newscasters and by which they develop opinions. Nevertheless, the data on the amount of divergence between perception and opinion presented on the previous pages and on the perception of the supposedly neutral newscaster as having opinions suggest that most often, selective perception rather than influence is at work, for people seem to project opinions on the newscasters which they do not hold (or at least do not consciously present in their newscasts). Of course, one could argue that the audience has figured out the unconscious biases that creep into reporting, but this augument is hard to defend, given the data on the lack of interest in the news, and more important, the data which show that regular viewers see the newscasters as neutral more often than irregular viewers.

Even so, the amount of divergence between perception and opinion suggests also that people do not project their _own_ opinions on the newscaster; if they did, the divergence would be minimal. Rather, I suspect, they seem to project opinions on the newscaster that they consider appropriate to him, given the image they have of him and of the kind of news he reports. Often, that image is of a person who is more liberal than they are. Consequently, my hunch is that the selective perception that takes place on the part of the audience involves more than projecting its opinion on to the newscaster; the viewers may also make projections on the basis of their image of the newscaster and his program - or, rather, of newscasters and news programs in general, since there is not much difference in the perceptions people have of the network and station news which they watch most often.

Finally, it should be noted that people do not actually choose the newscaster in terms of his opinions or their perceptions of them; as earlier data on the reasons for choosing between programs indicate, viewers select their newscaster more in terms of how he reports the news, how skillful he seems as a communicator, rather than what he reports. Thus, the findings on newscaster perceptions suggest that in the process of selecting a news program, viewers develop perceptions of that newscaster's view which combine their own opinions and their image of the world view that underlies TV news presentations. These perceptions play only a minor role in their choice of newscaster, just as what the teacher teaches seems less important to students (and parents) than how he teaches.

This hypothesis is supported by a question which attempted to determine how much viewers were influenced - or thought they were influenced - by a TV commentator who offered an opinion with which they disagreed. The question read, "Supposing a TV commentator whom you respect highly spoke favorably about something you were against, for example, raising taxes?" Respondents were then asked to choose between several possible reactions, and they chose as follows: 46 per cent said they would pay no attention to his opinion, 39 per cent said they would let him know their opinion, 5 per cent said they would change their opinion more to his, and 9 per cent said something else or did not know. In short, only a few said they would be influenced and the largest proportion said they would ignore his opinion.

Female members of the sample and old people were somewhat more likely to change their opinion: 3 per cent of the males, 8 per cent of the females, 9 per cent of men over sixty, and 14 per cent of women over sixty would change. Adults were somewhat more likely to "pay no attention" than adolescents (51 per cent to 41 per cent) but adolescents were no more likely to change their opinion than were adults.

Blue-collar workers said they would let the commentator know their opinion somewhat more often than did professionals and white-collar workers; blue-collar workers would be somewhat less likely to accept the newscaster's opinion, although in all cases, the largest proportion would pay no attention. Thirteen per cent of the professionals said they would be ready to change their opinion, as compared to 3 per cent of the white-collar workers and 4 per cent of the blue-collar workers - but then these groups would be especially opposed to increased taxes. There was no pattern by education, except that college graduates were twice as likely as the rest of the sample to change their opinion. Among adolescents, the response was just the reverse; none of the respondents from professional homes but 9 per cent of those from blue-collar homes would be influenced by the commentator; 64 per cent of the former but 42 per cent of the latter would let him know their opinion. When job expectations were analyzed, adolescents responded a little more like adults; those with blue-collar expectations thought they would let the commentator know their opinion more often than the rest, but those with professional expectations were no more ready to let themselves be influenced by him.

People who enjoyed being by themselves were no more open to influence by TV, at least as measured by this question, than people who preferred being with a group or with one other person.

Frequency of viewing affected the response of adults and adolescents differently. Five per cent of regular network news viewers were ready to change their opinion, but none of the once-a-week viewers would do so, as compared to 10 per cent of the non-viewers. Regulars and non-viewers would also pay more attention to the commentator than irregular viewers, and regular viewers and non-viewers would let him know their opinion more often than irregular viewers. Among adolescents, regular viewers would not change their opinion more often than irregular viewers or let him know their opinion more often, but they would pay attention somewhat more often. However, the differences here are slight, and there are no linear patterns; most likely, frequency of viewing does not make a difference.

TRUSTING THE NEWSCASTER AND TELEVISION

Even though viewers do not seem to feel they are influenced by the TV newscaster, they seem to trust him more often than they trust a friend. This conclusion stems from responses to a question which asked:

> If a government official was resigning and a TV commentator whom you respect highly thought it was because of corruption and a friend who knows about these things said it was because of the official's poor health, whom would you believe, the TV commentator or your friend?

In other words, the question gave people a choice between an informed friend who reported the normal official reason for a resignation - one of which people are often skeptical - and a commentator who reported an unofficial, "inside-dopester" reason, closer to what people believe. The question thus taps respect for TV even when a friend knows the truth. We purposely "loaded" the question in this way because we were curious to what extent people accepted their friend's explanation, even when it seemed less believable, and because we wanted to reverse the normal situation, in which TV gives the "official" explanation and friends give the "unofficial" one. The answers suggest that on this question, people trust TV more than the friend, although it is of course possible that people were really responding to the kind of explanation they found more believable.*

The respondents trusted TV more often than the friend, 58 per cent believing the newscaster and 34 per cent the friend. Only 8 per cent said they did not know. Adults and adolescents responded in about the same proportions. There was a slight difference by sex, the female sample members trusting the friend somewhat more; and by age, old people being less likely to trust either and saying "do not know" more often. There was no clear pattern by class for adults, although professionals trusted their friends as often as TV (perhaps because they would be most likely to have highly placed friends), but white collar and blue collar workers trusted TV more, and in equal proportions. The college educated trusted TV more than the less educated, and they trusted friends equally often; fewer of them said they did not know.

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*It is also possible that the question was worded poorly, and that people did not realize that the friend "who knows about these things" knew the true cause of the resignation.

The class pattern was clearer among adolescents, only 27 per cent of those from professional homes trusted TV as compared to 67 per cent of those from white collar homes and 70 per cent from blue collar homes, although there was no pattern in response when analyzed by job expectation. Interestingly enough, people who enjoyed being by themselves trusted friends more. Those who enjoyed being with a group or with another person were somewhat more trusting of TV, even though one might have expected them to place more trust on friends.

Frequency of viewing made no difference; those who watched network news regularly or not at all trusted TV least, although among those who watched station newscasts the regular viewers trusted TV more than the irregular or non-viewers, at least among adults. There was no pattern by frequency of viewing for adolescents for either type of newscast.

The amount of trust toward television was also tapped by a question about all TV programs, not just news. People were asked to agree or disagree with the statement. "In general, the people who make up the TV shows don't really care enough to put on programs the public likes." A minority, 32 per cent of both samples, agreed with the statement, female members slightly more than men, and adolescents less than adults (27 per cent of the former but 36 per cent of the latter). Professionals and unskilled laborers agreed with the statement more often than the rest of the sample, but there was no difference by level of education. Among adolescents, there was no pattern by parental job or by job expectation.

Adult heavy viewers agreed with the statement more often than light viewers; only 30 per cent of those watching less than six hours but 54 per cent of those watching 15 to 20 hours and 42 per cent of those watching twenty hours or more agreed. Among the teenagers, the trend was the same, but by no means as great. However, regular network newscast viewers did not agree more often than irregular viewers, or those who never watched such programs. However, regular viewers of station newscasts did agree more often than irregulars and non-viewers, at least among the adults. People who thought they had more problems than others their age agreed slightly more often with the statement in both age groups, but the proportion was not statistically significant. People who enjoyed doing things more by themselves agreed more often than those who enjoyed group or diadic activities, and those with professional and the lowest blue collar jobs agreed more often than the rest of the adult sample, but not among the adolescents. Whites agreed somewhat more often than Negroes, except among adolescents, where 39 per cent of the Negroes agreed, but only 22 per cent of the whites.

CENSORSHIP

Finally, respondents were asked whether they felt newscasters left out "news that you think is important." The question was asked to determine how many people felt that the news was being censored, but the response can also be taken as an indication of the extent to which the viewers trust TV, and of how responsive they think the news programs are to their own preferences.

The responses indicated that most people trust the news they get, for only 16 per cent thought news they considered important was left out, and only a small proportion of that number gave reasons which had to do with censorship. Male members of the sample felt that some news was omitted more often than female ones, but age made no difference; adolescents, who might have been expected to feel less trusting toward an adult medium, responded in about the same way as adults. Occupational background did not affect adult responses, but people with 0 to 8 years of schooling thought news was left out less frequently than the better educated. Among adolescents, there was no pattern by parental job or by job expectation.

The irregular adult viewers thought something was left out twice as often as the regular viewers; among the adolescents, it was the reverse. The people who watched Huntley-Brinkley thought something was left out slightly more often than those who watched the other newscasts; but among the adolescents, the Cronkite viewers felt this way in slightly larger numbers.

Of the 44 adults and adolescents who said that some news was left out (11 per cent of the total sample), 32 per cent gave reasons that might suggest they had censorship in mind. Sixteen per cent of this group comprised those who said that news about Viet Nam and anti-war protest which was embarrassing or dangerous to national security was left out· 5 per cent who mentioned other events embarrassing to the U.S., and 11 per cent who thought there was not enough or biased news on civil rights and antipoverty topics. But the largest group (25 per cent) said that there was not enough local and human interest news.

When they were asked why news was left out, again, 37 per cent of those giving reasons said that the story they did not see covered - and often people generalized from a single story they had not seen covered - was not important enough, or that there was not enough time to cover it; 7 per cent said explicitly it was done to keep things from people so as to maintain order and not arouse the public; 11 per cent said just that it was done to keep things from people without explaining why; 7 per cent thought the newscaster did not want to embarrass or upset a part of his audience; 10 per cent thought the newscaster himself did not like the story, or did not agree with its import; 5 per cent thought the news program did not want to embarrass the government, and 2 per cent, not to embarrass the network or a sponsor.

When people were asked who they thought had most to say about which news to report, and were asked to choose between a number of possible "censors," only 10 per cent said they did not know. About a third each said the network or the news editor; 13 per cent said the government, and 5 per cent the sponsor.

The same results were obtained among people who watched the station newscasts. Again, only 16 per cent said they thought the newscaster left out news, and irregular viewers were more suspicious among both age groups. The sample was small, and only 14 people explained what kinds of stories were left out. Of these, 29 per cent said news about Viet Nam, and 14 per cent, local and human interest material. No one gravitated toward one reason for exclusion more than toward another, however, 43 per cent thought the news editor was responsible for the choice of the news, slightly more than on the network programs; 27 per cent thought the network (even though the programs referred to are local shows), 11 per cent the government, and 9 per cent the sponsor. Again, only 6 per cent said they did not know.

CHAPTER IV: VIEWER PREFERENCES AND CHOICES IN NEWS AND ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAMMING

The fourth part of this report deals with findings about what our respondents said they wanted from television. We did not ask any questions about preferences for specific programs or program types; indeed, we asked few questions about what people wanted, for we assumed that they had not thought very much about such questions and thus might not be able to give valid or reliable answers on a sample survey. Only a more intensive interview would make it possible to find out what specific programs people watched, how they felt about them, and what program changes would interest them.

Instead, we asked our respondents a number of questions which got indirectly at their preferences about content, type of program, program format, and the like. Quite often, we refrained from discussing specific programs, partly because too few of the sample members were regular viewers of a specific program. Rather, we set up hypothetical programs and formats and asked people to choose what they preferred.

PREFERENCES AND CHOICES IN NEWS PROGRAMMING

Questions about preferences in news programming dealt largely with reactions to present news programs, both on forms of reporting and content, although we also asked people to put themselves in the role of a newscaster, and tell us what kinds of stories they and their viewers would prefer.

Having asked the two samples about the existence of censorship, we also asked a set of questions about preference for censorship. The question read, "How do you feel, in general, about news programs leaving out certain kinds of news stories?" Among the categories itemized were: "stories that would frighten children," "stories that would upset most adults," "stories that show the Communists doing good things," "stories that put businessmen in a bad light," "stories showing America doing bad things overseas," and "stories showing Negroes treated unjustly in the North." The proportions who favored the omission of these stories are shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16

PER CENT AGREEING TO THE OMISSION OF SELECTED NEWS ITEMS, BY TOPIC

Type of News Item	Adults	Adolescents
"Stories that would frighten children"	53	30
"Stories that would upset most adults"	24	21
"Stories that show the Communists doing good things"	25	22
"Stories that put businessmen in a bad light"	22	25
"Stories that show America doing bad things overseas"	26	25
"Stories that show Negroes treated unjustly in the North"	19	14
N	(202)	(202)

The topics in this question were chosen partly because some newsmen sometimes ignore or omit such stories, although not necessarily consciously. Indeed, the only conscious taboo is against stories that would frighten children, especially on the news programs that come at a time when children are still up and may be watching. The responses of the sample to this set of questions indicates that adults are slightly more favorable to such censorship than adolescents; about half favor censorship to protect children, but only a quarter or less favor censorship on other topics, regardless of whether it deals with adult taboos, national prestige, or social injustice.

As already indicated, adults are more in favor of protecting children than are adolescents, and old people feel more strongly about it than do adults (people who are presently raising children), although female members of the sample do not favor such censorship more than men. Thus, 74 per cent of the men over sixty and 67 per cent of the women over sixty favor such censorship. Among adults, there is a relationship between preference for protecting children and class; the lower status the job and the fewer the years of schooling, the more likely respondents are to favor censorship. Among adolescents, there is no pattern by parental job, but those with blue-collar job expectations favor censorship more than the rest.

Frequency of viewing makes a difference too; 60 per cent of the regular viewers of network news, but only 40 per cent of the once-a-week viewers approve of protecting the children, yet so do 60 per cent of those who never watch these programs. The same pattern holds true for viewers (and non-viewers) of station newscasts, but in both cases only among adults.

Censorship to prevent adults' being upset is also favored most by people over sixty, but this time by women more than by men. It is also favored more by blue-collar workers and by the less educated adults than by the rest of the sample, by adolescents with blue-collar job expectations, and by those who watch news programs (both kinds) regularly or not at all, although the differences are not as great as on the question of the protection of children. People who say they have more problems than most others their age also favor censorship to prevent adults being upset somewhat more often; there is a 14 per cent spread on this response between those who think they have more problems and those who think they have fewer among the adult sample, but only a 5 per cent spread among adolescents.

There is, however, less overlap than one might expect between those who favor censorship to protect children and those who favor it to protect adults. Eighty-two per cent of those who favor adult protection also favor child protection, but of those who favor child protection, only 38 per cent favor adult protection too, and this pattern holds for both age samples.

Two questions tapped preference for censorship to uphold American prestige -- omitting news showing Russia's Communists doing good things, and showing Americans doing bad things overseas. Although there were no differences in response between the two age groups, the 14 to 15 age group and the 21 to 59 age group approved censoring news about positive Communist activities more than did others in the sample. The youngest adolescents were also more in favor of censoring negative American activities, but old people were more often in favor than adults. Blue-collar workers were again more in favor of censorship --

on both questions -- than white-collar workers and professionals, although the less educated, and only those with less than eight years of schooling, favored censorship only with respect to positive Communist activities. The high school educated were slightly more in favor of censorship on such news than either the grade school or college educated. Adolescents with blue-collar job expectations also favored censorship on both topics more than those with professional espectations, but only somewhat more than those with white-collar expectations. An expected pattern by ethnic background on the first question did not turn up; Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and other Latin-Americans were more in favor of censoring news of positive Communist activities than Irish or Italian respondents, or East Europeans, thus suggesting class rather than ethnicity to be the determining factor. In fact, the preference for censorship was higher among blue-collar workers on all questions than among professionals and white-collar workers.

Frequent adult viewers and those who never watched network news were also more in favor of censoring negative American activities, but they were least in favor of censoring positive Communist activities. Among adolescents, there was no pattern by frequency of viewing.

Although the two questions were related, there was less overlap than expected between the two responses. Of those who opposed censoring positive Communist activities, 82 per cent also opposed censoring negative American acts, but among those who favored censoring positive Communist activities, only 49 per cent also favored censoring American negative activities, and among those favoring censorship of American activities, only 48 per cent favored censoring Communist activities.

On the two domestic issues -- censoring negative business news and Northern injustice to Negroes -- there was no common pattern. The 14 to 15 age group and adults were more in favor of censoring business news than old people; old people were more in favor of censoring stories on racial injustice. But class patterns held as before; blue-collar people favored both kinds of censorship more than the rest of the sample, at least among adults, although clerical and sales people were almost as much in favor of censoring negative business stories as unskilled blue-collar workers. The lower the respondent's education, the more he favored censorship on Northern injustice, but there was no variance by education on censorship of negative business news. Adolescents with blue-collar job expectations favored censorship somewhat more than the rest of the sample.

Regular viewers of network news favored censorship of injustice against Negroes more than less regular viewers or those who never watched. (The data were not tabulated on the business censorship question.) There was a slight tendency for people who favored censorship to choose the Cronkite news, but that reflects again the pro-censorship inclination of the blue-collar workers who tend to watch that program more often than its competitors.

What these data do not show clearly are the characteristics of the respondents who favored censorship to protect children but were opposed to other forms, i.e., about 25 per cent of the adults. There is some indication from previously cited data that there is less overlap than might be expected on these questions, so that some respondents favor censorship on one issue but not on all others. Still, it is clear that blue-collar workers are always more in favor of censorship, although it must be stressed that the majority of blue-collar workers are still against censorship, except for protecting children.

While only a quarter of the sample favored censoring stories that would upset most adults, when they were later asked about a specific situation in which adults might be upset, they favored censorship in larger numbers. Specifically, respondents were asked to assume that "a prominent public figure was being interviewed on TV and he got upset and used the word "goddam." They were then asked, "How do you think most people would feel; would they think it proper or improper, or wouldn't they care one way or the other?" Seventy-nine per cent of the sample thought it improper, 10 per cent thought it proper, and 9 per cent they wouldn't care.

Of course, people were asked how they thought others would feel. Also, the word was not "damn," but "goddam," a stronger and a sacrilegious profanity. Still, the opposition to the use of that word even in a spontaneous fashion -- and by a public figure rather than by the newsman himself -- is quite high, and makes one understand why TV producers are so concerned when profanity is used.

On this question, adolescents were stricter than adults, and adults stricter than old people. Thus, 75 per cent of the adults, but 84 per cent of the adolescents thought the use of profanity was improper; females slightly more often than males. This time, there was a different although not a significant class pattern; white-collar workers and the high school educated were somewhat more likely to consider the word proper than those above and below them in job status and education.

This was also true of adolescents with white-collar job expectations, although those from professional homes felt the word was proper more often than those from lower status homes.

Protestants felt the term was improper more often than Catholics and Jews, in that order; the percentages of adults so responding were 88 per cent among Protestants, 76 per cent among Catholics and 50 per cent among Jews; the figures were 91, 89, and 67 per cent respectively, in the adolescent sample. Except among Protestant adults, regular church or synagogue attenders of both ages and all three religions said, as expected, that use of the term was improper more often than irregular or non-attenders, although non-attenders were not significantly more liberal than irregulars.

Interestingly enough, there was no relationship between responses to this question and responses to the question on protecting children through censorship. Those who thought the use of profanity proper were no more in favor of censorship than those who thought it improper. While 73 per cent of respondents who opposed the use of profanity favored child censorship, 76 per cent who opposed profanity opposed child censorship. Altogether, only 11 per cent were favorable or indifferent toward profanity and at the same time, against censorship to protect children. Among the adolescents, 87 per cent of those against profanity favored censorship, but 82 per cent of those profanity opposed censorship, and 11 per cent were favorable or indifferent toward profanity and also against censorship to protect the children.

The receptivity toward favorable stories about Communists, and thus, about stories that oppose the general tenor of the mass media, was tapped another way by asking people the following question: "Imagine you could send a reporter to Red China to do a story on what is going on there and you had to choose. One reporter is strongly opposed to communism everywhere; the other is more likely to be favorable to whatever good things are going on there. Whom would you personally choose? And whom would most of your viewers prefer?"

This question touches on the preference for censorship, and on the choice between a restricted versus an open-minded reporter. It also permits an analysis of how people feel as compared to how they think others feel.

On the earlier question about omitting news of positive Communist activities, about 25 per cent of the sample favored omission or restriction of news; on this question, 33 per cent would select the reporter opposed to communism - 36 per cent of the adults and 29 per cent of the adolescents. Males and people over sixty preferred the anti-Communist reporter most often. Once again, there was some variation by class, professionals being for the open-minded reporter much more often than white- or blue-collar workers, and college educated respondents being somewhat more often for him than the rest of the sample. There was no pattern by adolescent home background, but adolescents with higher status job expectations also favored the open-minded reporter somewhat more often. There was no pattern by ethnic background, however, for either age group. Nor was there a pattern by frequency of watching network news. People who described themselves as having more problems than others their age did not favor the anti-Communist reporter as much as people with fewer problems, indicating that, in this case at least, having personal problems does not generate a demand for restriction of information that could be threatening.

This question was asked a second time, to determine what respondents thought about "what most...viewers would prefer," thus providing some indication of the differences between personal point of view and that attributed to "most viewers." The question was also asked to see whether people might not be more inclined to project their own point of view on others.

In this instance, respondents felt that "most viewers" were more in favor of anti-Communist reporting than they themselves were; 46 per cent of the adults and 44 per cent of the adolescents felt this way, or about 10 per cent more than when they gave their personal opinion. This time, class differences vanished; 47 per cent of the professionals thought most people wanted an anti-Communist reporter, as did 44 per cent of the white-collar workers, and 48 per cent of the skilled blue-collar workers, 50 per cent of the semiskilled and 29 per cent of the unskilled. There is actually little difference between the personal opinion and the public image of most viewers among the white- and blue-collar workers, suggesting that these groups were giving their personal opinion in each instance. The large difference between the two responses by professionals is probably due to their feeling that most people are less liberal than they, rather than to their unwillingness to give an honest personal opinion. Moreover, people who thought they had more problems than their peers were still no more restrictive than those who thought they had fewer problems; indeed, about the same proportion thought most viewers wanted an anti-Communist reporter -- 34 per cent, as compared to 31 per cent who said they personally wanted such a reporter.

The best way of comparing personal opinion and public image is by seeing what public image was held by those with different personal opinions. Of the people who personally preferred an anti-Communist reporter, 90 per cent thought most viewers would do so, but of those who wanted an open-minded reporter, only 77 per cent thought most viewers would share their opinion. The remaining 23 per cent evidently feel that the rest of the world is somewhat less open-minded than they. Conversely, of respondents who think most viewers would prefer an anti-Communist, only 70 per cent would themselves prefer him; again, the remaining 30 per cent may be saying that they are more open-minded. Of those who think most viewers want an open-minded reporter, 96 per cent say they want such a reporter personally; they are the open-minded who feel that everyone is like them.

These data cannot tell us who is being honest and who is not, however; they only suggest that people who feel themselves to be liberal are more likely to see others as less liberal. However, when people were asked to respond in the same two ways about their personal reaction and most viewers' reactions to the fighting in Viet Nam, an equal proportion responded negatively in each case, indicating no perceived disparity in this case between personal feelings and the dominant American opinion; 76 per cent of the respondents felt this way personally, and 79 per cent said most viewers would feel this way.

PREFERENCES AND CHOICES IN TYPES OF NEWS COVERED

The respondents' preferences for news content were tapped through a question on TV's Viet Nam coverage. People were asked whether they personally would like more or fewer stories and films about four topics: "How the American soldiers in Viet Nam feel about the war," "The peace feelers and negotiations," "How the North Viet Namese feel about the war," and "The battle and bloodshed of the war." The first and last of these topics have been covered most fully by TV, and the middle two rarely, partly because peace feelers cannot easily be shown on film, and because American TV had no access to cover North Viet Nam in 1967. Moreover, newsmen generally feel that Americans are most interested in news about other Americans, including the battles in which they are involved.

The data suggest that their judgment is not entirely accurate. On the first three items, the responses were quite similar; about three-fourths of the sample asked for more stories, 10 to 15 per cent for fewer, and 5 per cent were satisfied with the present coverage. On the last question, however, only 30 per cent wanted more battle coverage, about 55 per cent wanted less, and the rest no change. The data are shown in Table 17.

What is perhaps most interesting is that people seem to want more coverage about how the North Viet Namese feel about the war, and that they want it as often as they want more coverage of American soldiers. This is especially the case in the adolescent sample. Of course, the figures themselves should not be taken as gospel, since it is easier for people to say more than less, but the proportions are significant, particularly since viewers do say that they want less battle coverage.

TABLE 17

PREFERENCES FOR SELECTED TYPES OF VIET NAMESE NEWS COVERAGE (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)*

Type of Coverage	Adults				Adolescents			
	More	Less	Same	N	More	Less	Same	N
"How American Soldiers in Viet Nam feel about the war"	78	15	5	(202)	82	10	5	(202)
"The peace feelers and negotiations"	78	11	6	(202)	69	22	6	(202)
"How the North Viet Namese people feel about the war"	75	16	6	(202)	83	10	6	(202)
"The battle and bloodshed of the war"	31	56	10	(202)	28	57	13	(202)

Some data are available on who holds these preferences. The demand for more news about the American soldiers is higher among professionals than among the rest of the sample, although there is no linear pattern by class. Thus 7 per cent of the professionals want less coverage of Americans, and semi-skilled workers respond in about the same proportion, but 22 per cent of the skilled and 31 per cent of the unskilled blue-collar workers favor less coverage of Americans. Similarly, the people with 0 to 8 years of schooling favor less coverage of Americans somewhat more often than the better educated. There was no difference by class among adolescents. An earlier bi-modal pattern appeared with respect to frequency of news viewing; the demand for more coverage of Americans is lowest among both regular viewers and non-viewers of network news. The preference for more or fewer stories on peace feelers does not vary by occupation, education, or frequency of news viewing, but professionals prefer more stories about the North Viet Namese in larger numbers than people with lower status jobs. However, there is no variation by education, and none for adolescents by class, and there is no variation by frequency of news viewing.

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*Percentages do not add up to 100 because "Don't Know" responses were excluded from the table.

People who prefer an anti-Communist reporter are less interested in news about the North Viet Namese than people who prefer an open-minded reporter, although the differences are not large (66 per cent as compared to 82 per cent). Among adolescents, they are even smaller -- 80 per cent of those favoring an anti-Communist reporter and 84 per cent of those favoring an open-minded reporter opted for more coverage of the North Viet Namese people.

The opposition to battle coverage is stronger among female members of the sample than among males, although people over sixty are highest in each sex. Opposition is also greatest among blue-collar viewers and clerical-sales viewers; professionals and owner-managers are the only ones who favor more battle coverage, and two thirds of the unskilled blue-collar workers want less of it. A similar pattern is found by education; only 21% of those with 0 to 8 years of education want more battle coverage, as compared with 30 per cent of the high school educated and 42 per cent of the college educated. Among adolescents, there is no class difference by parental background, but adolescents with semiskilled and unskilled blue-collar job expectations want more battle coverage than the rest of the sample. Once again, regular viewers and non-viewers of network news say they want less battle coverage most often. We expected that people who thought they had more problems might answer this question differently than others, and they did. Adults who said they had more problems than others their age wanted battle coverage reduced more often; adolescents who saw themselves with more problems wanted battle coverage increased more often than adolescents who thought they had fewer problems than their peers, although the majority of those who thought they had problems still wanted less battle coverage.

While one might expect people to say they would be against more battle films because it might make them appear bloodthirsty, the responses to this question are actually somewhat more favorable to battle coverage than another question, asked somewhat earlier, which simply inquired in an open-ended way, "In general, how do you personally feel when you see films of the fighting in Viet Nam?" Many people used the question to give their opinion about the war itself, rather than about the coverage, but whether one tabulates the response to the coverage or to the war, the results are the same; most people feel negative about the fighting.

Taking the two samples as a whole, 22 per cent said the TV films made them feel sad, sick, angry, horrified, or otherwise negative, and another 43 per cent made the same comments about the fighting without mentioning the films. Another 7 per cent said explicitly that such films should not be shown, or are shown too much, or that they do not look at them. Conversely 4 per cent say the films should be shown:

"They are interesting or informative," "People ought to know about the fighting." Only 2 per cent said they had no feelings one way or the other about the films or were getting used to them; another 2 per cent said the same thing about the fighting itself. Eight per cent said they felt sad about the coverage but added that they like to see what is going on: "It's horrible but necessary," one respondent pointed out. Another 7 per cent were ambivalent about the fighting itself, and only 4 per cent said clearly that they were for the war and the fighting. Summarizing, 72 per cent had negative feelings about the films and the fighting; 15 per cent were ambivalent, 8 per cent were favorable toward the films and the fighting, and 4 per cent said they had no feelings or were getting used to the films and the fighting.

Age differences in this response were negligible, and so were class differences, although the high school and college educated felt most viewers were for the war or the films slightly more often than the less educated, and adolescents with professional job expectations felt that way personally and about most viewers more frequently than did the rest of the sample. Frequency of viewing did not affect people's reactions; regular viewers were neither for nor against the films or the fighting in larger proportions than irregular viewers or non-viewers. People who said they favored the bombing of North Viet Nam were somewhat less negative toward the films and the fighting; 56 per cent made negative statements as compared to 79 per cent of those against the bombing. Similarly, 60 per cent of those who wanted more stories about the battles were opposed to the bombing, as compared to 82 per cent of those who wanted fewer such stories.

These data conflict at various points with a Harris survey reported in the July 10, 1967 issue of Newsweek. According to the magazine's report, "People were first asked if TV made them feel more opposed to the war or not: 52 per cent said no, 31 per cent said yes. Next they were asked...did TV make them feel more like 'backing up the boys in Viet Nam?' Here the results were 73-11 in the affirmative, and even the extreme doves shared this view by 50-21. Finally they were asked if TV made them feel more like backing up the boys or opposing the war. 64 per cent said they were moved to support the boys, 26 per cent to oppose the war."*

Although our respondents were asked different questions, they seem to be more upset by both by the war and by the news coverage of it. It should be noted, however, that when our respondents were upset, they were more often upset with what the war was doing to American boys than what it was doing to Viet Nam or the Viet Namese. As noted before, frequest viewers of the network newscasts answered this question no differently than infrequent viewers. Frequent viewers did, however, want fewer stories "about the battle and the bloodshed of the war." Twenty-four per cent of regular adult news viewers said they wanted more such coverage, 61 per cent said they wanted less of it. Of those watching once a week or less, 33 per cent wanted more, 47 per cent wanted less. Of those watching once a week or less, 33 per cent wanted more, 47 per cent wanted less. The differences are not large, and 61 per cent of those who never watched such newscasts also wanted less battle coverage -- but the data suggest that the regular viewers are not as favorable to battle coverage as the Harris data might indicate. Still, it is quite possible both studies are accurate, for viewers may well feel more like supporting American boys even while they are upset by the battle coverage.

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*Newsweek, July 10, 1967, p. 20.

We were also interested in ascertaining people's preferences for different ways of covering a given event, but rather than ask them this directly, we asked them to rank five different ways of covering the event in order of their importance. The question read as follows:

> Now, you have to make a half-hour news film. It will tell what is going on in the public schools in New York City's slums. You could do it on three topics.
>
> Circle the one you think your viewers would be most interested in, which second, third, and which two could be left out.

The five choices were:

1. What is wrong with the teachers who teach in the slum schools
2. Why living in a slum makes it hard for children to learn and teachers to teach
3. What is wrong with the children who live in the slums
4. What good things excellent teachers are doing in slum schools
5. What the government should be doing to improve the schools and rebuild the slums

The first three alternatives were explanations of the event; the first and the third "blamed" identifiable persons; the second blamed "the system." The fourth and fifth alternatives dealt with suggested remedies. The fifth calls on the government to change the system; the fourth suggests covering the remedies developed by unusually talented people. This alternative is often used on TV, which is why we asked people about it. Educational pilot programs or experiments are reported admiringly and without emphasis on the fact that they are pilot programs, thus implying that able and well-intentioned people with new ideas can solve the problem without requiring other changes in the system.

The rankings suggested by respondents are shown in Table 18. In terms of the number of people who consider each story of most interest to viewers, the data suggest that the final alternative -- reporting what the government should be doing -- gets by far the largest number of first choices. Coverage that blames slum life is second; the "optimistic" coverage of excellent teachers is third, the coverage that blames teachers is fourth, and the coverage that blames slum children is last.

If the alternatives are analyzed in terms of the largest number giving each a particular rank, the coverage of needed government action is still first, that blaming slum life is second as well as third, and the two forms of coverage that blame people would be left out as being of least interest to viewers. Combining these two ways of analyzing the rankings would suggest that in covering undesirable or unjust events, at least, most people prefer impersonal stories, i.e., those that call on the government for action or blame the system, while stories that would blame individuals are preferred least often.

Very few people are interested in stories blaming either children or teachers, and there is no difference here between adults and adolescents. As might be expected, blue-collar workers and the least educated are readier to blame teachers than professionals and the college educated. Professionals are also least ready to blame the children, although the college educated are most interested in stories that blame them. Among adolescents, there is no difference by class on either way of treating the story, and although 19 per cent of Negro adults as compared to 9 per cent of white adults think their viewers would be most interested in a story that blames teachers, there is no difference of interest by race in stories that would blame children.

TABLE 18

RANKINGS OF FIVE SELECTED ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF COVERING
"WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
IN NEW YORK CITY'S SLUMS"
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)*

	Adults				Adolescents				
Alternative	1st	2nd	3rd	Leave Out	1st	2nd	3rd	Leave Out	N*
"What is wrong with the teachers..."	7	7	6	80	8	12	17	61	(202)
"Why living in a slum makes it hard for children to learn and teachers to teach"	16	26	29	25	27	35	21	15	(202)
"What is wrong with the children..."	10	16	19	51	5	16	17	61	(202)
"What good things excellent teachers are doing in slum schools"	17	25	19	35	9	20	20	49	(202)
"What the government should be doing to improve the schools and rebuild the slums"	47	20	16	14	51	17	23	9	(202)

Percentages do not add up to 100 because "don't know" responses were excluded from the table.

*N is 202 for each age group

Respondents are more interested in stories that blame the system, and adolescents somewhat more so than adults, 62 per cent of them picking such a story as first or second choice, as compared to 43 per cent of the adults. Professionals and the college educated are more interested in this kind of coverage than either white- and blue-collar workers or the respondents with 9 to 8 and 9 to 12 years of schooling. Adolescent responses are not differentiated by class.

Adults are also somewhat more interested in an optimistic approach, 17 per cent giving the story about excellent teachers first rank, as compared to 9 per cent of the adolescents. Professionals and white-collar workers prefer optimism somewhat more than blue-collar workers, and 22 per cent of the college educated would rank this story as most interesting, as compared to 17 per cent of the high school educated and 9 per cent of those with 0 to 8 years of schooling. Again, adolescent responses do not differ by class. The variation by race is considerable: 21 per cent of white adults feel their viewers are most interested in this story, and 29 per cent say it ought to be left out, whereas only 3 per cent of the Negro adults would rank the story first, and 57 per cent would leave it out. Adolescent Negroes and whites feel the same way as do adults.

All respondents gave first preference to a story that suggests governmental responsibilities, and adolescents slightly more than adults. This time, the class pattern is reversed. Blue-collar and white-collar workers think their viewers would be most interested in this story more often than do professionals, and over half of the adults with 0 to 8 and 9 to 12 years of schooling respond this way, but only

28 per cent of the college educated do so. Adolescent responses vary by parental occupation in much the same way on this story, although not by job expectation. Negro adults chose the story as most interesting more frequently than whites.

Finally, respondents were asked to choose between news as information and news as entertainment, to choose between an expert and a good storyteller to cover a story. Again they were asked to imagine themselves in charge of a local news program, and then to select one of two reporters: "One reporter is an expert on municipal government but a bit dull; the other reporter is not so well informed but is very good at telling the story in an interesting way. Whom would you personally choose?"

The combined samples divided itself almost down the middle, 51 per cent picking the expert, 49 per cent the storyteller. Male sample members were slightly more in favor of the former than females, and people over sixty picked the storyteller in larger proportion than anyone else. Adolescents preferred the storyteller somewhat more often than adults, 55 per cent choosing him as compared to 42 per cent of the adults. Class differences were not large, but professionals were the only group to favor the storyteller more often; blue-collar and white-collar workers chose the expert in about the same proportion. Among adolescents, children from professional homes preferred the storyteller about as often as respondents from white- and blue-collar homes. When adult responses were analyzed by years of schooling, the results were closer to what one might expect; 44 per cent of the respondents with eight grades of schooling or less preferred the expert, as compared to 65 per cent of those with 9 to 12 years of schooling, but only 56 per cent of those who had gone to college. There is no pattern by frequency of viewing; the expert was not preferred significantly more often by regular viewers than by irregular viewers or non-viewers of both network and station newscasts.

After people gave their personal preferences, they were asked "whom most of your viewers would prefer," and this time only 30 per cent picked the expert and 69 per cent the storyteller; 35 per cent of the adults and only 24 per cent of the adolescents picked the expert. Once more professionals selected the expert less often than white- or blue-collar workers, perhaps because they feel their fellow man is less able to understand experts, and again the choices were affected by schooling: 34 per cent of those with eight years of schooling or less, 46 per cent of those with 9 to 12 years of schooling and 28 per cent of those with college attendance selected the expert. Frequency of viewing also affected the response; regular viewers of network newscasts thought their viewers would prefer the expert somewhat more often than irregular viewers, although the differences are not statistically significant.

The divergence between personal preference and public preference on this question can be explained in two ways. Either people report their own feelings more honestly when they talk about what most viewers would prefer, or some have different perceptions of what their fellow viewers want. My hunch is that both explanations are true -- that people prefer a good storyteller and do not want to admit it, but also that their perception of "most viewers" varies. One might have expected college-educated respondents to support the expert in their personal choice and the story teller in their public choice, but they picked the storyteller more often both times, thus suggesting that they were reporting their personal preference honestly. The role of differing perceptions is indicated by comparative data. Of the people who preferred the expert personally, 60 per cent felt most viewers would agree; of the people who preferred the storyteller, 90 per cent felt most viewers would agree. Clearly the people who prefer the expert think that a goodly number of viewers would not agree with them; those who prefer the storyteller feel that most people are just like them.

PREFERENCES AND CHOICES IN ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAMMING: REALITY VERSUS FANTASY

It has long been assumed that TV viewers prefer entertainment to information, and the data on program favorites reported in Part II indicate that few respondents chose informational programs as favorites. Further questions that emphasize the dichotomy between entertainment and information would not have provided any different findings, and instead, we asked people to make choices between hypothetical "stories" - without saying that they were entertainment or informational. We also asked adolescents to choose between their favorite entertainment program and several hypothetical programs that dealt with a variety of informational topics.

First people were asked to choose between two alternatives for each of five types of stories, three of them relating to what we have called the "reality-fantasy" element, one involving the choice between "sickness" and "evil" as a description of drug addiction, and one asking for a choice between "realistic" and "unrealistic" coverage of New York

City's problems.

The five stories were:

A. 1) A story about people who are better off financially than you and your family. . . . .
OR
2) A story about people who are about as well off as you and your family. . . . .

B. 1) A story about people who have problems like yours. . . . .
OR
2) A story about people who have no problems whatever. . . . .

C. 1) A story about people that live the way most people do. . . . .
OR
2) A story about people who have unusual adventures. . . . .

D. 1) A story that told about how sick drug addicts are. . . . .
OR
2) A story that told about the bad things addicts do to other people. . . . .

E. 1) A story that told the rest of the country about problems in New York City. . . . .
OR
2) A story that told the rest of the country only about the good things that go on in New York City. . . . .

Table 19 indicates that by and large people prefer their stories peopled by "realistic" characters, except when it comes to adventures; they prefer stories about people who have unusual adventures to stories about people living the way they do. They choose stories describing drug addicts as sick rather than evil, and they prefer the country to have realistic stories about New York City rather than stories that tell only about its virtues. On the whole adolescents are somewhat (but only somewhat)more in favor of realistic stories than adults; the latter do not prefer fantasy significantly more often, but instead say they do not know more often.

TABLE 19

PREFERENCES FOR "REALITY" AND FANTASY" IN SELECTED HYPOTHETICAL STORIES (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)*

A Story About:	Adults	Adolescents
A. 1. People better off financially;	23	23
2. People as well off as you	66	74
B. 1. People who have no problems;	22	13
2. People who have problems like you	74	87
C. 1. People who have unusual adventures;	71	80
2. People that live the way most people do	27	18
D. 1. How sick drug addicts are;	64	65
2. The bad things drug addicts do to others	24	30
E. 1. Only the good things that go on in New York	25	23
2. Problems in New York	69	74
N	(202)	(202)

*Percentages do not add up to 100 per cent because "don't know" responses were excluded from the table.

Responses to the first story do not differ by sex, but they do differ by age; adolescents are more interested in the fantasy alternative than adults, and old people are least interested. (They are also the most frequent viewers of news.) Professionals are somewhat more interested in fantasy than blue-collar workers, but the highest proportion who want a story about a better-off family are clerical-sales workers. Adolescents respond like adults. The pattern is similar when respondents are analyzed by income; 25 per cent of those who earn $15,000 or more annually want to hear about the better-off family, as compared to 11 per cent of those who earn under $2,000, although the proportion for fantasy is highest (35 per cent) among the $5,000 to $6,000 income group. The proportions are roughly the same for adolescents. When responses are analyzed by educational background, however, the respondents with 9 to 12 years of education, who are presumably the white-collar workers, answer like the people with 0 to 8 years of education; 17 per cent in both groups choose the fantasy alternative, as compared to 36 per cent of the college educated. Frequent viewers do not want fantasy more often than infrequent viewers; they choose the "realistic" story about 10 per cent more often than the infrequent viewers, and again, adolescents report similarly. Adults who think they have more problems than their peers also prefer reality more often than those who think they have fewer problems, but among adolescents the reverse is true.

The choice between people with and without problems does not follow the same patterns. The age patterns found in the previous question do not appear; on this question, men over sixty and women of ages 21 to 59 prefer fantasy more often than do adolescents. On this alternative, lower status people are in favor of fantasy more often than are higher status people, blue-collar workers preferring the fantasy alternative somewhat more often than white-collar workers and professionals, and people with 0 to 8 years of schooling preferring it twice as often as the high school and college educated. The same pattern obtains for adolescents by parental background, but there is no difference in response by job expectation. Both adults and adolescents who think they have more problems than their fellows choose the realistic alternative more often, and people who turn on TV to overcome depression choose the realistic alternative slightly more often than those who do not use TV for this purpose. Adults who are sometimes depressed by TV prefer the fantasy alternative slightly more often than those who are not made blue by TV --27 per cent as compared to 17 per cent.

On the third question, almost everybody prefers stories about people with unusual adventures, but the male respondents do so more than female ones, as might be expected, given their previously reported preference for adventure stories, and people over sixty do so less than others. The preference for fantasy is highest among professionals and the college educated; 48 per cent of the people with 0 to 8 years of education and 51 per cent of the unskilled blue-collar workers prefer the realistic story, thus indicating that they have considerably less tolerance for adventure, at least in a hypothetical choice. The same pattern is found among adolescents, although the difference between the classes is much smaller. Frequent viewers of TV also prefer the realistic alternative somewhat more often than infrequent viewers, but again the differences are small, at least among adults. Among adolescents, however, 93 per cent of those watching four hours or less during the week choose the adventure alternative, as compared to only 75 per cent of those watching twenty or more hours.

Adults who think they have more problems than their fellows also prefer the realistic alternative more often than those with fewer problems; among adolescents there is no difference. However, in neither age group do people who use TV as an anti-depressant want fantasy more than the rest of the sample.

The fifth story gave people a choice between reality and fantasy on a news subject; it asked them whether they wanted the country to learn about the problems of New York City or only the good things. Presumably, the latter choice is closer to fantasy. The respondents chose the realistic alternative in about the same proportion as for the first two questions. Female sample members chose the positive story more often than men. Old people chose the positive story less often than adults and adolescents and answered "don't know" more often. There are no differences by class in choosing stories.

Frequent viewers of network newscasts preferred the realistic picture of New York more often than infrequent viewers, although only among adults. Conversely, frequency of viewing station newscasts -- which contain more news about New York -- did not affect adult choices, but adolescent infrequent viewers chose the realistic picture more often than frequent viewers. Given the unusual pattern (and lack of pattern) here, it is safe to presume that frequency of viewing is unrelated to choice, and that other variables are at work.

The fourth story tapped something other than fantasy and reality; it gave people a choice between sympathy (or tolerance) for the sick addict and rejection of an evil-doer, a choice that is often made by popular drama as well. As noted before, most people chose the sympathetic story, reflecting the dominant pattern in popular drama today. There was no real difference in attitude between male and female sample members although the latter were slightly more favorable to the sympathetic story, and there was no regular difference by age, except that young adolescents, 14 to 17 years old, were more likely to choose the evil-doer story than their elders. Old people were as tolerant as adults.

As might be expected, preference for the tolerant story decreased with decreasing socioeconomic level, although the pattern was not uniform. White-collar workers were more tolerant than skilled and semiskilled blue-collar workers but less tolerant than the unskilled blue-collar workers, and people with 0 to 8 years of education were considerably less tolerant than the high school and college educated, who responded similarly. Among adolescents, there was a steady decrease in tolerance by parental occupation and adolescent job expectation, however. Among adults, Negroes were more likely to choose the sympathetic story than whites, perhaps because of the predominance of Negroes among the unskilled blue-collar workers; among adolescents, however, whites chose the sympathetic story more often.

Adults who thought they had more problems than their peers chose the evil-doer story more often than others, but this was not the case among adolescents. People who watched TV less than four hours a week were most tolerant, and the more frequent viewers less so, but those who watched 15 to 20 hours a week were as tolerant as the infrequent viewers. Among adolescents, the pattern was more linear; the higher the frequency of viewing, the higher the proportion who chose the evildoer story, suggesting that the young audience may not agree with TV's tendency to portray the addict as sick rather than evil. There was no pattern by frequency of viewing the network newscasts, which is understandable because these rarely deal with the topic. But there was no pattern either among adult viewers of station newscasts, which may include addiction stories in local news programming, although among adolescents, there was a slight but not steady tendency for frequent viewers of station newscasts to be more tolerant.

Choices on individual questions were compared to discover if there was a regular preference for fantasy or reality, but the findings are not conclusive. People who chose a story about characters as well off as they were twice as likely to also pick a story about characters that lived the way they do, rather than characters with unusual adventures. Among adolescents, the pattern was similar; 21 per cent of those choosing the realistic story in the first question also chose the realistic story in the second question. These differences are slight.

However, people who chose stories with characters who had problems like them chose the adventurous characters as often as people who chose stories with characters that had no problems whatsoever, and this was true of adolescents as well as adults. Similarly, respondents who chose the story about more affluent characters, chose the story that dealt realistically with New York City as often as those who preferred a story about characters as well off as they, in both age groups.

Conversely, 72 per cent of the people who chose the realistic alternative among the characters with or without problems also chose the realistic depiction of New York, as compared to 61 per cent of those who wanted stories about people with no problems. The difference is small, however. Also, people who chose the realistic story with nonadventurous characters did not choose the realistic depiction of New York any more often than people who preferred adventurous characters, and this was true for both age groups. Of, the respondents who chose the realistic depiction of New York, 14 per cent said they were "most interested in covering slum schools by telling about the good things teachers were doing, and 41 per cent said the story should be left out. Conversely, among the people who chose the positive depiction of New York (presenting only the good things), 22 per cent thought this school story most interesting, and only 16 per cent thought it should be left out.

We also compared choices between fantasy and reality with respondents' favorite programs, expecting that people who preferred news, documentaries, and educational programs would consistently choose the realistic alternative over the fantastic one. The data suggest a slightly different pattern. Respondents who considered these programs their favorites did choose the story with financially better-off characters less often, but the people who prefer quiz-and-game shows rejected it altogether, and there were only minor differences between various entertainment favorites. The same set of respondents chose the story about people with no problems least often, and again the quiz-and-game devotees did not choose it at all. People who liked variety and musical shows best preferred the fantasy alternative somewhat more often than the people who preferred other kinds of entertainment shows.

The preference for adventure stories was almost universal, and respondents who like news, documentaries, and educational programs did not choose it less often than respondents who like entertainment programs. But the quiz-and-game show viewers again chose the fantasy alternative least often -- only 46 per cent preferred the adventurous characters, while the sports enthusiasts preferred these characters more than any other group. News and documentary devotees -- but not those who picked educational and science programs -- preferred the tolerant story about the drug addict most often, and this time, the quiz-and-game show viewers preferred it least often; 46 per cent chose the story that told of the evil things addicts do to other people. People who preferred dramatic stories and soap operas were just behind the news-documentary devotees in choosing the tolerant story.

Yet another way of comparing fantasy-reality choices with program preferences was used by analyzing adolescent choices in terms of their response to the question of how many of the available programs on TV they liked. We expected that the respondents who liked most programs would be more likely to choose the fantasy alternative; those who liked them least, the reality alternatives, but the data did not bear out the prediction. The respondents who liked most available TV programs did not choose the story about financially better-off characters, about characters without problems, and about adventurous characters any more often than the respondents who liked hardly any of the available programs; in fact, on all but the first story, the people who liked "hardly any" of the available programs picked the fantasy choice slightly more often than the people who liked "most," "a great many," and "few" of the available programs.

These findings do not justify the theory that people who prefer one kind of fantasy in TV programming will also prefer fantasy in general in TV programming, at least in response to hypothetical choices. Nor do they justify the theory that people who like entertainment programs always prefer "fantasy" programming to "realistic" stories. Even when the analyses produce findings that go along with the two theories, the statistical differences between the groups are not large enough to permit dividing people into fantasy-oriented and reality-oriented in their media choices.

The findings do, however, indicate, and quite clearly, that there may not be as much interest in escapist fantasy, especially at the lower socioeconomic levels, as is often thought. Most people probably prefer entertainment programs to informational ones, but they want the entertainment programs, or rather, the dramatic stories, to be about real people more often than about unreal ones. Of course, they want these real people to take part in adventures, rather than in more routine activities.

Needless to say, the answers to hypothetical questions cannot be taken at face value. Even so, they are not idiosyncratic. Last year, some similar questions were asked of a random sample of East Harlem residents, and the answers turned out much the same.* When that sample was asked to choose between a story about poor people and a story about rich people, 64 per cent chose the former. When it was asked to choose between a story "about the problems people like you have," and a story "about people who have no problems whatsoever," 70 per cent chose the former. Sixty-nine per cent chose the story that told about the sickness of drug addicts, even in a neighborhood in which addicts are a menace to their neighbors, and when the sample was asked to choose between a story "that told other people how difficult life was on this block," and a story "that told only about the nice things on this block," 55 per cent chose the former.

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*Herbert J. Gans, Audience Preferences for Reality or Fantasy in Mass Media Fare, New York: Center for Urban Education, 1966. mimeographed. It is reprinted here in Appendix C.

ENTERTAINMENT AND INFORMATIONAL TV

In order to test the preference for informational and entertainment programs, and thus, in another way, to compare the interest in "reality" and "fantasy," the adolescent sample was asked whether they would give up their favorite TV program - which was almost always an entertainment program - occasionally to watch each of nine hypothetical informational programs if they were on at the same time. The nine programs were listed only by title, but the titles referred to documentary-type programs, some of which are directly relevant to the concerns of adolescent respondents. Table 20 lists the titles and the proportion of adolescent boys and girls indicating they would watch such programs.

The percentages suggest that the topic closest to the present news documentary would interest a fifth of the respondents, but that topics dealing with adolescent problems would interest 50 per cent or more. Those dealing with economic and career problems interest over 60 per cent; those dealing with popularity and dancing, subjects thought by adults to be of most interest to young people, draw under 50 per cent.

TABLE 20

PREFERENCE FOR SELECTED HYPOTHETICAL "DOCUMENTARIES"
OVER FAVORITE ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAMS,
BY SEX, ADOLESCENTS ONLY

(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

Hypothetical Documentary	Boys	Girls	All
Why parents and teenagers quarrel	36	55	46
Making prisons run more democratically	26	16	21
Unusual marriage customs	29	49	39
How can teenagers make money	66	71	69
How to get into college	64	61	62
How to get to be more popular	43	43	43
What is inside the atom	45	28	36
Teenagers learning new dances	30	60	45
The ten most famous people in the world today	51	55	53
N	(98)	(104)	(202)

The median number of yes responses was four, and 12 per cent picked 7 to 9 of the hypothetical documentaries. There was no difference by sex, but the proportion choosing 7 to 9 of the programs decreased slightly between the 14 to 15 age group and the 18 to 19 age group. There was no correlation with class; adolescents from professional homes picked fewer than those from white- or blue-collar homes, and the highest proportions picking 7 to 9 programs was among children from blue-collar supervisory (foremen) homes (27 per cent) and from clerical-sales homes (19 per cent), suggesting that for them TV may serve upward-mobility functions. However, when one analyzed responses in terms of the kind of work the respondents expected to do as adults, this pattern changed somewhat; 25 per cent of those expecting to be skilled blue-collar workers picked 7 to 9 of the hypothetical programs, as compared to 17 per cent expecting to be professionals, 12 per cent expecting to be clerks or salesmen, and 5 per cent of those expecting to be technicians and semiprofessionals.

Adolescents who thought they had more problems than their peers chose 7 to 9 of the hypothetical programs no more often than those who thought they had fewer problems; those who enjoyed doing things by themselves picked 7 to 9 programs no more often than those who preferred group or diadic activities. Those who chose realistic characters in the previous question did not select 7 to 9 programs significantly more often than those who chose fantasy characters, thus questioning again the existence of a general predilection for fantasy.

Frequency of TV viewing did not affect the results either; the highest proportion selecting 7 to 9 programs was found among those who watch network news regularly or not at all. There was no pattern by frequency of watching station newscasts either, thus indicating again that frequent TV viewing per se does not significantly affect viewer choices or attitudes.

Some comparisons were made between people who chose realistic or fantastic stories and people who would or would not watch hypothetical documentaries on the question of whether TV provided illustrations for living one's life. The expected response, that those choosing the realistic characters would agree that TV gave a lot of illustrations and those choosing better-off characters thought TV gave a lot of illustrations more often than those choosing realistic characters (those as well off as the respondents). Similarly, those choosing characters without problems thought TV gave a lot of illustrations more often than those choosing realistic characters (characters with problems). There was no difference in the response to this question between respondents who preferred adventurous or ordinary characters, and between respondents who wanted a positive or a negative depiction of New York City's problems.

We expected that the adolescents who picked 7 to 9 of the hypothetical documentaries would feel that TV had nothing to say about how to live one's life -- which is why they might choose the hypothetical documentaries that were relevant to their life. The data show, however, that fewer of them feel this way about TV than the respondents who picked less than seven documentaries. Similarly, on four hypothetical documentaries specifically relevant to adolescents (parental-teenage quarrels, teenagers making money, getting into college, and being popular), the respondents who said they would watch these thought that TV had something to say about life more frequently than those who said they would not watch them. Evidently, the respondents who would choose alternative TV programming feel more positive about the relevance of current TV programming to their life than those who would not choose alternative programs.

Finally, we also expected that adolescents who picked the hypothetical documentaries most often would like hardly any of the available TV programming, but again the data show just the opposite. Since too few respondents said they liked hardly any, we combined them with those who liked only a few. The proportion most dissatisfied with available TV picked only one of two of the alternatives, while those least dissatisfied with present TV picked six or seven alternatives. There is some indication that the respondents who pick eight or nine of the alternatives are also dissatisfied with available TV but the cells are too small to show a statistical trend. In any case, these data suggest that the people who like TV the least are not interested in the hypothetical alternatives we suggested; perhaps they do not like TV in any form; whereas those who like present TV the most are also interested in watching a considerable number of alternative programs.

APPENDIX A: SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

TABLE A-1

ADULT SAMPLE
SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS, AGE BY SEX

Age	Sex				Total	
	Male		Female			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
21 - 59	73	76.2	85	80.2	158	78.2
60 +	23	23.8	21	19.8	44	21.8
Total	96		106		202	

TABLE A-2

ADOLESCENT SAMPLE
SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS, AGE BY SEX

Age	Sex				Total	
	Male		Female			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
14 - 15	38	38.8	35	33.7	73	36.2
16 - 17	32	32.7	39	37.5	71	35.2
18 - 19	28	28.5	30	28.8	58	28.6
Total	98		104		202	

TABLE A-3

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS, BY RACE

Race	Adult		Adolescents	
	No.	%	No.	%
White	161	79.7	146	72.3
Negro	36	17.8	39	19.3
Puerto Rican	4	2.0	16	7.9
Oriental	1	0.5	1	0.5
Total	202		202	

TABLE A-4

ADULT SAMPLE: SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS, OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MAIN EARNERS BY RACE

	Race							
Occupation	White		Puerto Rican**		Negro		All***	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professionals	13	8.2	1	25	1	2.8	15	7.4
Owners, executives	10	6.2			0	0	10	5.0
White collar supervisors	4	2.5			1	2.8	5	2.5
Semiprofessionals and technicians	9	5.6			3	8.3	12	5.9
Clerical and sales workers	24	14.9	2	50	2	5.5	29	14.3
Blue collar supervisors (foremen)	7	4.3			3	8.3	10	5.0
Skilled blue collar workers*	25	15.5			2	5.5	27	13.4
Semiskilled blue collar workers*	47	29.1			7	19.5	54	26.7
Unskilled blue collar workers*	17	10.6	1	25	17	47.5	35	17.3
Other	0	0			0	0	0	0
Don't know, no answer	5	3.1			0	0	5	2.5
Total	161		4		36		202	

*This category also includes service workers.

**Puerto Ricans were not considered a racial group by this survey but their responses were analyzed separately on some answers.

***Includes also one oriental respondent.

TABLE A-5

ADOLESCENT SAMPLE: SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS, OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MAIN PARENTAL EARNERS BY RACE

	Race							
Parental	White		Puerto Rican**		Negro		All***	
Occupation	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professionals	11	7.5	0		0		11	5.4
Owners, executives	7	4.8	0		0		7	3.5
White collar supervisors	4	2.8	2	12.5	0		6	3.0
Semiprofessionals and technicians	3	2.1	0		2	5.1	5	2.5
Clerical and sales workers	32	21.9	0		4	10.3	36	17.8
Blue collar supervisors (foremen)	9	6.2	0		5	12.8	15	7.4
Skilled blue collar workers*	23	15.7	0		4	10.3	27	13.4
Semiskilled blue collar workers*	27	18.5	4	25	13	33.3	44	21.8
Unskilled blue collar workers*	25	17.1	8	50	4	10.3	37	18.3
Other	0	0	0		1	2.5	1	0.5
Don't know, no answer	5	3.4	2	12.5	6	15.4	13	6.4
Total	146		16		39		202	

*This category also includes service workers.

**Puerto Ricans were not considered a racial group by this survey but their responses were analyzed separately on some answers.

***Includes also one oriental respondent.

TABLE A-6

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS: TOTAL ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME

Incomes	Adult Sample		Adolescent Sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Under 2,000	9	4.5	6	3.0
2,000 - 2,999	11	5.4	3	1.5
3,000 - 3,999	6	3.0	14	6.9
4,000 - 4,999	22	10.9	19	9.4
5,000 - 5,999	26	12.9	30	14.9
6,000 - 7,499	28	13.9	32	15.8
7,500 - 9,999	44	21.8	58	28.7
10,000 - 14,999	19	9.4	22	10.9
15,000 or over	32	15.8	12	5.9
Refusal	3	1.5	2	1.0
Total	202		202	

TABLE A-7

ADULT SAMPLE
SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS: YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED

Years of Schooling Completed	No.	%
No Schooling	4	2.0
Completed Less than 8th Grade	25	12.5
Graduated 8th Grade	13	6.5
Some High School	43	21.5
Graduated High School	61	30.5
Some Technical School Beyond High School	3	1.5
Some College	25	12.5
College Graduate	17	8.5
Graduate Work	8	4.0
No Answer	3	0.5
Total	202	

TABLE A-8

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE, ADULTS AND ADOLESCENTS

Religious Preference	Adult Sample No.	 %	Adolescent Sample No.	 %
Protestant	51	25.2	42	20.8
Catholic	114	56.4	111	55.0
Jewish	32	15.8	43	21.3
None	5	2.5	5	2.5
Total	202		202	

TABLE A-9

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS, NUMBER BY BOROUGH (ADULTS AND ADOLESCENTS COMBINED)

Borough	Number	Per Cent
Manhattan	108	26.7
Brooklyn	131	32.4
Queens	85	21.0
Bronx	70	17.3
Staten Island	10	2.5
Total	404	100.0

APPENDIX B: THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SRS-4012
4-67

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

1 - 3

INTRODUCTION AT DWELLING UNIT:

Hello, I am _______________ (your name) from the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago. We are conducting a study of television watching and I would like to talk to a _____________ (quota person) who watches about three or more hours of television a week, not counting Saturday and Sunday. Is there someone here who fits that description?

IF YES, PROCEED WITH THE INTERVIEW.

IF NO, RECORD CALL ON SURS AND GO ON TO NEXT DU.

ENTER TIME INTERVIEW BEGAN________ AM PM

Note: Questions preceded by an asterisk have not been discussed in this report.

e first question is --

How often do you watch TV on weekdays -- Would you say nearly every day, two or three times a week, or once a week?

Nearly every day.	1	4/Y
2-3 times a week.	2	
Once a week	3	

IF LESS THAN ONCE A WEEK, DISCONTINUE INTERVIEW

About how many hours altogether do you usually watch TV during the week -- not including Saturday and Sunday?

Under 4 hours	1	5/Y
4 less than 6 hours . . .	2	
6 less than 10.	3	
10 less than 15	4	
15 less than 20	5	
20 or more hours.	6	
Don't know.	X	

HAND RESPONDENT WHITE CARD, SIDE A Would you tell me which type of program or type of movie on TV you enjoy watching the most? CIRCLE ONLY ONE CODE

Comedy.	1	6/Y
Westerns, adventures, war stories .	2	
News, documentaries (news specials)	3	
Mysteries, spy stories.	4	
Dramatic stories, soap operas . . .	5	
Variety shows, musical shows. . . .	6	
Sports.	7	
Quiz and game programs.	8	
Educational programs, science . . .	9	
Teenage dance or other dance programs.	1	7/Y
Other (SPECIFY)	2	
Don't know.	X	

How often do you read the national and international news pages of a newspaper -- Would you say nearly every day, 2 or 3 times a week, once a week, once every couple of weeks, or less often than that? HAND R WHITE CARD SIDE B

Nearly every day.	1	8/Y
2 or 3 times a week . . .	2	
Once a week	3	
Every couple of weeks . .	4	
Less often.	5	
Never	6	

5. How often do you watch one of these three evening network TV news programs -- Huntley-Brinkley on NBC at 7 PM, Walter Cronkite on CBS at 7 PM, or Peter Jennings on ABC at 5:30 PM -- Would you say nearly every day, 2 or 3 times a week, about once a week, once every couple of weeks, or less often than that? WHITE CARD, SIDE B.

Nearly every day.	1	9/Y
2 or 3 times a week . . .	2	
Once a week	3	
Every couple of weeks . .	4	
Less often(SKIP TO Q.16).	5	
Never (SKIP TO Q. 16) . .	6	

---

6. Which one of the three half-hour evening network news programs do you watch more often -- Huntley-Brinkley, Walter Cronkite, or Peter Jennings?

Huntley-Brinkley.	1	10/Y
Walter Cronkite	2	
Peter Jennings.	3	
Watch equally	4	
Don't know(SKIP TO Q.9) .	X	

---

7. A. Why do you watch (NAME) rather than (NAME OF ONE OF THE OTHER TWO IN Q.6)? 11/Y

UNLESS OBVIOUS

B. Why do you watch (NAME) rather than (NAME OF SECOND OF THE OTHER TWO IN Q.6)? 12/Y

---

8. If you couldn't watch any of these three programs for several weeks -- Would this bother you a great deal, somewhat, or hardly at all?

Great deal.	1	13/Y
Somewhat.	2	
Hardly at all	3	
Don't know.	X	

---

9. IF WATCHES EQUALLY OR DON'T KNOW IN Q. 6: Now we'd like you to talk about just one of these programs rather than the others. Just choose one --

Huntley-Brinkley.	1	14/Y
Walter Cronkite	2	
Peter Jennings.	3	

SK QUESTIONS 10-15 ABOUT PERSON CODED IN Q. 6 OR Q. 9.

0. How do you think (NAME) feel(s) about (the bombing of North Vietnam) -- Would you say (they/he) (are/is) for it, or against it?

	For	Against	Neutral	Don't Know	
A. The bombing of North Vietnam.	1	2	3	X	15/Y
B. The President's civil rights program -- (Are/Is)(they/he) for it, or against it . .	1	2	3	X	16/Y
C. Giving foreign aid to Poland and other countries behind the Iron Curtain	1	2	3	X	17/Y

1. How do you yourself feel about (the bombing of North Vietnam) -- Are you for it, or against it ?

	For	Against	Neutral	Don't Know	
A. The bombing of North Vietnam.	1	2	3	X	18/Y
B. The President's civil rights program -- -- Are you for it, or against it.	1	2	3	X	19/Y
C. Giving foreign aid to Poland and other countries behind the Iron Curtain	1	2	3	X	20/Y

12. Do you ever feel that (NAME) leaves out news that you think is important, or not?

Yes (ASK A&B)	1	21/Y
No.	2	
Don't know.	X	

IF YES, ASK A&B

A. What kinds of stories are left out ? DO NOT PROBE FOR MORE THAN ONE. 22/Y

B. Why do you think they are left out? IF MORE THAN ONE MENTIONED, ASK ABOUT THE FIRST ONE ONLY AND PROBE THAT FULLY. 23/Y

13. Who,besides (NAME), do you think has the most to say about which news he will report -- the network, the sponsor, the news editor, the government, or somebody else?

The network	1	24/Y
Sponsor	2	
News editor	3	
Government	4	
No one	5	
Other (SPECIFY)	6	
Don't know	X	

---

14. Do you think (NAME) is a Democrat, Republican, or something else?

Democrat	1	25/Y
Republican	2	
Other (SPECIFY)	3	
Huntley Dem;Brinkley Rep.	4	
Huntley Rep;Brinkley Dem.	5	
Huntley other (SPECIFY)	6	
Brinkley other (SPECIFY)	7	
Don't know	X	

(OPTIONAL)

15. And how about yourself -- Are you a Democrat, Republican, or something else?

Democrat	1	26/Y
Republican	2	
Other (SPECIFY)	3	
Don't know	X	

---

16. How often do you watch any (other) TV news programs that give national and international news, during the day or evening -- Would you say nearly every day, 2 or 3 times a week, about once a week, once every couple of weeks, or less often that that? HAND R WHITE CARD, SIDE B

Nearly every day(SEE BOX BELOW)	1	27/Y
2 or 3 times a wk.(SEE BOX BELOW)	2	
Once a week (SEE BOX BELOW)	3	
Every couple of wks.(SKIP TO Q.27)	4	
Less often (SKIP TO Q. 27)	5	
Never (SKIP TO Q. 27)	6	
Don't know (SKIP TO Q. 27)	X	

ASK Qs. 17-26 ONLY IF

Qs. 6-15 WERE NOT ASKED.

17. Of the (other) TV news programs that you watch, which one do you watch more often? IF RESPONDENT CANNOT NAME PROGRAM, ASK: What part of the day and what channel is that? 28/Y

8. Why do you watch that one rather than any others?

29/Y

---

9. If you couldn't watch (this/these) program(s) for several weeks -- would this bother you a great deal, somewhat, or hardly at all?

Great deal.	1	30/Y
Somewhat.	2	
Hardly at all	3	
Don't know.	X	

---

0. IF MORE THAN ONE NEWS PROGRAM IS RECORDED IN Q. 17, ASK: Now we'd like to talk about just one news program rather than the others. Just choose one, any one. RECORD IDENTIFYING INFORMATION ABOUT CHANNEL AND TIME.

31/Y

ASK Qs. 21-26 ABOUT PERSON OR PROGRAM NAMED IN Q. 17 OR 20.

OR

IF RESPONDENT CANNOT CLEARLY IDENTIFY ONE PERSON OR PROGRAM, OMIT Qs. 21-26.

1. How do you think (NAME) (the newscaster on this program) feels about (the bombing of North Vietnam) -- Would you say he is for it, or against it?

	For	Against	Neutral	Don't Know	
A. The bombing of North Vietnam.	1	2	3	X	32/Y
B. The President's civil rights program -- Is he for it, or against it?.	1	2	3	X	33/Y
C. Giving foreign aid to Poland and other countries behind the Iron Curtain	1	2	3	X	34/Y

22. How do you yourself feel about (the bombing of North Vietnam) -- Are you for it, or against it?

	For	Against	Neutral	Don't Know	
A. The bombing of North Vietnam.	1	2	3	X	35/Y
B. The President's civil rights program -- Are you for it, or against it?.	1	2	3	X	36/Y
C. Giving foreign aid to Poland and other countries behind the Iron Curtain	1	2	3	X	37/Y

---

23. Do you ever feel that (NAME)(the newscaster on this program) leaves out news that you think is important, or not?

Yes (ASK A&B)	1	38/Y
No.	2	
Don't know.	X	

IF YES, ASK A&B

A. What kinds of stories are left out? DO NOT PROBE FOR MORE THAN ONE. 39/Y

B. Why do you think they are left out? IF MORE THAN ONE MENTIONED, ASK ABOUT THE FIRST ONE ONLY AND PROBE THAT FULLY. 40/Y

---

24. Who besides (NAME)(the newscaster on this program) do you think has the most to say about which news he will report -- the network, the sponsor, the news editor, the government, or somebody else?

Network	1	41/Y
Sponsor	2	
News editor	3	
Government.	4	
No one.	5	
Other (SPECIFY)	6	
Don't know.	X	

. Do you think (NAME)(the newscaster on this program) is a Democrat, Republican, or something else?

Democrat.	1	42/Y
Republican.	2	
Other (SPECIFY)	3	
Don't know.	X	

(OPTIONAL)

. And how about yourself -- Are you a Democrat, Republican, or something else?

Democrat.	1	43/Y
Republican.	2	
Other (SPECIFY)	3	
Don't know.	X	

SK EVERYBODY

. A. In general, how do you personally feel when you see films of the fighting in Vietnam?

44/Y

B. In general, how do you think most people feel when they see films of the fighting in Vietnam?

45/Y

. Now I would like to ask you how you feel, in general, about news programs leaving out certain kinds of news stories -- (ASK A-F)

	Yes	No	Don't Know	
A. First -- stories that would frighten children -- Do you think they should be left out of news programs, or not?	1	2	X	46/Y
B. How about stories that would upset most adults -- (Do you think they should be left out of news programs, or not?)	1	2	X	47/Y
C. Show the Communists in Russia doing good things	1	2	X	48/Y
D. Put businessmen in a bad light -- (Do you think they should be left out of news programs, or not?)	1	2	X	49/Y
E. Show America doing bad things overseas.	1	2	X	50/Y
F. Show Negroes treated unjustly in the North -- (Do you think they should be left out of news programs or not?)	1	2	X	51/Y

29. On this sheet HAND RESPONDENT BLUE SHEET there are seven news stories. Suppose you were making up a TV network news program and you didn't have enough time to include all of them.

Please review the sheet, then circle the one you think your viewers would be most interested in, second most interested in, third, fourth, and fifth most interested in, and which two you would leave out.

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Leave Out	Don't Know	
A. An airplane crash in America in which 100 people were killed.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	52/Y
B. A big movie star like Frank Sinatra getting divorced. . .	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	53/Y
C. A big battle in Vietnam . . .	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	54/Y
D. An airplane crash overseas in which 200 people are killed .	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	55/Y
E. The President signing an executive order to make all housing racially integrated .	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	56/Y
F. The mayor of New York City signing an order prohibiting all automobiles parking downtown.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	57/Y
G. A story from North Vietnam saying the Viet Cong were ready to negotiate for peace.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	58/Y

---

30. Supposing you are in charge of a local news program and had to choose between two reporters to cover an important story at city hall.

One reporter is an expert on municipal government but a bit dull; the other reporter is not so well informed but is very good at telling the story in an interesting way --

A. Whom would you personally choose?	Expert.	1	59/Y
	Good story teller	2	
	Don't know.	X	
B. Whom would most of your viewers prefer?	Expert.	1	60/Y
	Good story teller	2	
	Don't know.	X	

1. Imagine now you could send a reporter to Red China to do a story on what is going on there and you had to choose again.

One reporter is strongly opposed to communism everywhere; the other is more likely to be favorable to whatever good things are going on there --

A. Whom would you personally choose?
Anti-communist. 1 61/Y
Favorable to good things. 2
Don't know. X

B. Whom would most of your viewers prefer?
Anti-communist. 1 62/Y
Favorable to good things. 2
Don't know. X

---

2. Now, you have to make a half hour news film. It will tell what is going on in the public schools in New York City's slums. You could do it on three topics.

Please review the five topics on this sheet HAND R YELLOW SHEET and circle the one you think your viewers would be most interested in, which second, which third, and which two could be left out?

	Most Interested	2nd Most Interested	3rd Most Interested	Leave Out	Don't Know	
A. What is wrong with the teachers who teach in slum schools	1	2	3	0	X	63/Y
B. Why living in a slum makes it hard for children to learn and teachers to teach	1	2	3	0	X	64/Y
C. What is wrong with the children who live in the slums	1	2	3	0	X	65/Y
D. What good things, excellent teachers are doing in slum schools	1	2	3	0	X	66/Y
E. What the government should be doing to improve the schools and rebuild the slums	1	2	3	0	X	67/Y

DECK 02

33. People have different ideas about how the war in Vietnam should be reported on TV. Would you personally like more or less stories and films about -- (how the American soldiers in Vietnam feel about the war?)

	More	Less	Same	Don't Know	
A. How the American soldiers in Vietnam feel about the war	1	2	3	X	68/Y
B. The peace feelers and negotiations -- Would you personally like more or less stories and films about them.	1	2	3	X	69/Y
C. How the North Vietnamese people feel about the war.	1	2	3	X	70/Y
D. The battle and bloodshed of the war	1	2	3	X	71/Y
	76-4	77-0	78-1	79-2	80-1

DECK 02

34. Supposing a prominent public figure was being interviewed on TV and he got upset and used the word "god damn". How do you think most people would feel -- Would they think it proper or improper?

Proper.	1	4/Y
Improper.	2	
Wouldn't care one way or the other.	3	
Don't know.	X	

---

35. If a government official was resigning, and a TV commentator whom you respect highly thought it was because of corruption, and a friend who knows about these things said it was because of the official's poor health, whom would you believe -- the TV commentator, or your friend?

TV commentator.	1	5/Y
Friend.	2	
Don't know.	X	

Supposing a TV commentator whom you respect highly spoke favorably about something you were against -- for example, raising taxes.

Which one of these things would you do -- Would you let him know your opinion, or change your opinion more to his, or pay no attention to his opinion, or would you do something else?

Let him know opinion. . .	1	6/Y
Change opinion more to his	2	
Pay no attention to his opinion	3	
Something else(SPECIFY) .	4	
Don't know.	X	

Have you seen anything on TV that helped you understand a personal problem of yours, or that helped you make a decision about something (other than commercials)?

Yes (ASK A&B)	1	7/Y
No (ASK C).	2	
Don't know.	X	

IF YES, ASK A&B

A. What did you see?

B. How did it help you?

IF NO, ASK C

C. What kinds of programs would be helpful to people in understanding their personal problems?

38. Have you seen anything on TV that was really exciting to you?

Yes (ASK A) 1 8/Y
No. 2
Don't know. X

A. IF YES: What did you see that excited you? DO NOT PROBE FOR MORE THAN ONE.
PROBE: What about it excited you?

---

39. I'm going to describe two possible kinds of TV stories. Tell me which one you'd rather watch.

A. 1) A story about people who are better off financially than you and your family. 1 9/Y
OR
2) A story about people who are about as well off as you and your family. 2
Don't know. X

B. 1) A story about people who have problems like yours. 1 10/Y
OR
2) A story about people who have no problems whatever 2
Don't know. X

C. 1) A story about people that live the way most people do. 1 11/Y
OR
2) A story about people who have unusual adventures 2
Don't know. X

D. 1) A story that told about how sick drug addicts are. 1 12/Y
OR
2) A story that told about the bad things addicts do to other people. . . 2
Don't know. X

E. 1) A story that told the rest of the country about problems in New York City. 1 13/Y
OR
2) A story that told the rest of the country only about the good things that go on in New York City. 2
Don't know. X

0. How often do things you see on TV appear in your dreams -- very often, sometimes, or very seldom?

Very often	1	14/Y
Sometimes	2	
Very seldom	3	
Never	4	
Don't know	X	

---

1. Which one of these statements do you agree with the most HAND RESPONDENT PINK CARD SIDE A --

A. TV as a whole gives us a lot of illustrations about how to live our lives	1	15/Y
OR		
B. TV as a whole gives us a few illustrations about how to live our lives.	2	
OR		
C. TV as a whole has nothing to say about how to live our lives.	3	
Don't know	X	

---

2. Compared to most people your age, would you say you have more problems and frustrations or less?

More	1	16/Y
About the same	2	
Less	3	
Don't know	X	

---

3. Do you ever turn on the TV to help you get over feeling blue or a bad mood?

Yes (ASK A)	1	17/Y
No	2	
Don't know	X	

A. What type of program helps you feel better? (IF MOVIE MENTIONED, ASK: What type of movie?) RECORD VERBATIM, CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY. DO NOT PROBE FOR ANY OTHERS.

Comedy	1	18/Y
Westerns, adventures, war stories	2	
News, documentaries(news specials)	3	
Mysteries, spy stories	4	
Dramatic stories, soap opera	5	
Variety shows, musical shows	6	
Sports	7	
Quiz and game programs	8	
Educational programs, science	9	
Teenage dance programs, other dance programs	1	19/Y
Other (SPECIFY)	2	
No particular type	8	
None, they don't help	9	
Don't know	X	

44. Do you ever feel especially good or cheerful because of a TV program you watch?

Yes (ASK A)	1	20/Y
No.	2	
Don't know.	X	

A. What type of program makes you feel good? (IF MOVIE MENTIONED: What type of movie?) RECORD VERBATIM, CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY. DO NOT PROBE FOR ANY OTHERS.

Comedy.	1	21/Y
Westerns, adventures, war stories .	2	
News, documentaries(news specials).	3	
Mysteries, spy stories.	4	
Dramatic stories, soap operas . . .	5	
Variety shows, musical shows. . . .	6	
Sports.	7	
Quiz and game programs.	8	
Educational programs, science . . .	9	
Teenage dance programs, other dance programs.	1	22/Y
Other (SPECIFY)	2	
No particular type.	8	
None, they don't help	9	
Don't know.	X	

---

45. Do you ever feel blue because of a TV program you watch?

Yes (ASK A)	1	23/Y
No.	2	
Don't know.	X	

A. What type of program makes you feel blue? (IF MOVIE MENTIONED, ASK: What type of movie?) RECORD VERBATIM, CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY. DO NOT PROBE FOR ANY OTHERS.

Comedy.	1	24/Y
Westerns, adventures, war stories .	2	
News, documentaries(news specials).	3	
Mysteries, spy stories.	4	
Dramatic stories, soap opera. . . .	5	
Variety shows, musical shows. . . .	6	
Sports.	7	
Quiz and game programs.	8	
Educational programs, science . . .	9	
Teenage dance programs, other dance programs.	1	25/Y
Other (SPECIFY)	2	
Don't know.	X	

. Complete the following sentences in any way you wish. There are no right or wrong answers -- only answers that suit you and express something that comes to your mind right away.

	Fre-quently	Occasionally	Hardly Ever	Never	Don't Know	
A. If you are interested in making money and being rich, you________ ____________________	1	2	3	4	X	26/Y
B. The most important thing about friendship is________ ____________________	1	2	3	4	X	27/Y
C. Sickness and illness come when ____________________	1	2	3	4	X	28/Y
D. To stand out from the crowd and get lots of attention, you________ ____________________	1	2	3	4	X	29/Y
E. To find the purpose and meaning of our lives we________ ____________________	1	2	3	4	X	30/Y
F. Those who want power and influence ____________________	1	2	3	4	X	31/Y
G. If you can't do things well and without errors, you________ ____________________	1	2	3	4	X	32/Y
H. The world we live in is________ ____________________	1	2	3	4	X	33/Y
I. Evil and bad people________ ____________________	1	2	3	4	X	34/Y
J. What they say about me is________ ____________________	1	2	3	4	X	35/Y
						36-43

47. Each of the sentences you've just completed contains an idea. Every TV program is built around an idea or thought. What we would like to know is, whether the ideas in your completed sentences are ideas you have heard expressed or seen illustrated on any kind of TV comedy or drama.

I am going to read each sentence you've completed back to you. For each one, please tell me how often you have noticed this idea in a TV comedy or drama -- frequently, occasionally, hardly ever, or never. READ EACH COMPLETED SENTENCE IN Q. 46 (ITEMS A-J) AND CODE ABOVE.

48. In general, the people who make up the TV shows don't really care enough to put on programs the public likes -- do you agree or disagree with this statement?

Agree	1	44/Y
Disagree.	2	
Don't know.	X	

---

*49. Now I'm going to read you some TV programs and I would like you to tell me whether or not you have ever heard of them.

A. Have you ever heard of (Bonanza)? CODE BELOW

IF YES, ASK B

B. Would you say this program is very popular, somewhat popular, or not very popular with people your own age?

CONTINUE WITH 2-11, ASKING B IF APPROPRIATE

	Familiar With Program			Top 10, Very Popular	Somewhat Popular	Not Very Popular	Don't Know	
	Yes	No						
1) Bonanza	1	2	45/Y	1	2	3	X	46/Y
2) Batman.	1	2	47/Y	1	2	3	X	48/Y
3) Monkees	1	2	49/Y	1	2	3	X	50/Y
4) Jackie Gleason.	1	2	51/Y	1	2	3	X	52/Y
5) Rat Patrol.	1	2	53/Y	1	2	3	X	54/Y
6) Green Acres	1	2	55/Y	1	2	3	X	56/Y
7) Tarzan.	1	2	57/Y	1	2	3	X	58/Y
8) Flipper	1	2	59/Y	1	2	3	X	60/Y
9) FBI	1	2	61/Y	1	2	3	X	62/Y
10) Petticoat Junction. . .	1	2	63/Y	1	2	3	X	64/Y
11) Walt Disney Show. . .	1	2	65/Y	1	2	3	X	66/Y

76-4 77-0 78-1 79-2 80-2

FOR TEENAGERS: GO TO Q. 50

FOR ADULTS: SKIP TO Q. 72, P. 26

BEGIN DECK 03

ASK Qs. 50-71 OF TEENAGERS ONLY

50. Thinking of everything that is available on TV, would you say you like most of the programs you see, a great many, a few, or hardly any?

Most	1	4/Y
Great many	2	
A few	3	
Hardly any	4	
None	5	
Don't know	X	

*51. Would you say (your family)(the people who live in the house here with you) watch(es) TV regularly, just now and then, or hardly ever?

Regularly	1	5/Y
Now and then	2	
Hardly ever	3	
Never	4	
Don't know	X	

*52. When everything on TV begins to bore you, do you generally continue to watch, or do you leave the set on and do something else at the same time, or do you turn the set off and do something else?

Continue to watch	1	6/Y
Leave on and do something else	2	
Turn off and do something else	3	
Never bored with everything on TV	4	
Don't know	X	

*53. As long as you do your chores and work, does (your family)(the people who live in the house here with you) think it's all right for you to watch TV as much as you like, or would they rather you set a limit on the amount of time you watch, or do they wish that you would not watch TV at all?

They think it's all right	1	7/Y
Rather set limit	2	
Not watch at all	3	
They don't care one way or the other	4	
Don't know	X	

*54. Is there any program, besides regular news programs, that (your family)(the people who live in the household with you) like(s) and you don't?

Yes (ASK A&B)	1	8/Y
No.	2	
Don't know.	X	

IF YES, ASK A&B

A. What program? 9/Y

B. What do you usually do when they watch it -- Do you watch it with them all the time, watch it once in a while, or don't watch TV at all and do something else, or what?

Watch all the time.	1	10/Y
Watch once in a while	2	
Don't watch TV at all, do something else.	3	
Other (SPECIFY)	4	
Don't know.	X	

---

*55. Is there any program on TV that you like very much and (your family)(the people who live in the household with you) do(es)n't like?

Yes (ASK A & B)	1	11/Y
No.	2	
Don't know.	X	

IF YES, ASK A&B

A. What program is that? 12/Y

B. What do they usually do when you want to watch it -- Do they watch it too most of the time, watch it once in a while with you, don't watch TV at all and do something else, or do they make you turn it off, or what?

Watch most of the time.	1	13/Y
Watch it once in a while.	2	
Don't watch TV at all, do something else.	3	
Make you turn it off.	4	
Other (SPECIFY)	5	
Don't know.	X	

. A. Now I'd like to talk about regular series programs in which the main character appears in the stories each week. Would you give me the names of your 3 favorite dramatic or comedy programs like that which you have ever watched. RECORD BELOW

I don't watch any (SKIP TO Q.57). . 1 14/Y
Don't know(SKIP TO Q.57). X

B. Which character in (PROGRAM IN A(1) do you like best? (IF CAN"T NAME, SAY: Please describe him any way you can.) REPEAT FOR (2) AND (3).

C. Now I would like you to tell me how you think (PERSON IN B(1) would complete this sentence -- "The world we live in is --- " (RECORD UNDER C BELOW. REPEAT FOR B(2) & (3)

	A. Name of Program	B. Favorite Character	C.
1)		15/Y	The world we live in is
2)		16/Y	The world we live in is
3)		17/Y	The world we live in is

*57. Is there any program that didn't appeal to you when you first watched it but which your friends or your family liked a lot and which you gradually got to like?

Yes (ASK A&B) 1 18/Y
No. 2
Don't know. X

IF YES, ASK A&B

A. What is it? 19/Y

B. How did you get to like it? 20/Y

---

*58. Is there any program that either your family or friends didn't like much at first, but which you thought was great and which they gradually got to like?

Yes (ASK A&B) 1 21/Y
No. 2
Don't know. X

IF YES, ASK A&B

A. What is it? 22/Y

B. How did they get to like it? 23/Y

---

*59. A. Please think of your favorite teacher in junior or senior high school -- What subject did he or she teach? 24/Y 25/Y

B. What TV entertainment program do you think this teacher would like best? (Just your best guess.) (IF NEWS OR INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM, PROBE: What entertainment program do you think this teacher would like best?) 26/Y 27/Y

0. A. Now think of the teacher you liked the least -- What subject did he or she teach?

28/Y
29/Y

B. What TV entertainment program do you think this teacher would like best? (IF NEWS OR INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM, PROBE: What entertainment program do you think this teacher would like best?)

30/Y
31/Y

---

61. Of all the TV programs that most fellows and girls your age like very much, which do you like the least?

32/Y
33/Y

---

62. Of all the TV programs that appeal very much to you, which do you feel most boys and girls your age like a lot less than you do?

34/Y
35/Y

---

63. Would you be willing to give up one of your favorite TV programs occasionally for the following programs if they were on at the same time READ A-I AND CIRCLE ONE CODE FOR EACH --

The first one is:	Yes	No	Don't Know	
A. Why parents and teenagers quarrel -- Would you give up your favorite program for such a program?	1	2	X	36/Y
B. Making prisons run more democratically.	1	2	X	37/Y
C. Unusual marriage customs.	1	2	X	38/Y
D. How can teenagers make money -- (Would you give up your favorite program for such a program?).	1	2	X	39/Y
E. How to get into college	1	2	X	40/Y
F. How to get to be more popular	1	2	X	41/Y
G. What is inside the atom -- (Would you give up your favorite program for such a program?)	1	2	X	42/Y
H. Teenagers learning new dances	1	2	X	43/Y
I. About the ten most famous people in the world today . .	1	2	X	44/Y

*64. A. What about yourself would you least consider changing, even if people tried very hard to make you do so?

45/Y
46/Y

B. Is there anything about yourself that people like -- that you want to change?

47/Y
48/Y

---

*65. A. What kind of school do you go to -- public, private, or parochial?

Public.	1	49/Y
Private	2	
Parochial	3	
None.	0	

B. What was the last grade in school you completed?

Seventh or earlier (SKIP TO Q.66) .	1	50/Y
Eighth (ASK (1)	2	
Ninth (HS freshman)(ASK (1)	3	
Tenth (HS SOPHMORE)(ASK (1)	4	
Eleventh (HS junior)(ASK (1). . . .	5	
Twelfth (HS senior)(ASK (1)	6	
Nursing, Secretarial, Trade School.	7	
First year college.	8	
2nd year college.	9	

(1) What kind of program (were/are) you in -- general, vocational, commercial, or academic?

General	1	51/Y
Vocational.	2	
Commercial.	3	
Academic (college prep) .	4	
Other (SPECIFY)	5	
Don't know.	X	

---

66. What (is/was) your grade average -- about A, B, C, D or lower in your past (last) year of school?

About A	1	52/Y
About B	2	
About C	3	
About D	4	
Lower	5	

ASK Q. 67 IF RESPONDENT IS STILL IN SCHOOL

67. A. What have you seen on TV that helped you with your school work -- other than programs assigned by your teacher?

Nothing (SKIP TO Q.68). .	1	53/Y
Don't know(SKIP TO 68). .	X	

B. How did it help you with your school work? 54/Y

---

68. A. If you could start your own high school, or change the one (you are going to/you went to), what courses would you teach that are not taught now? 55/Y

B. What kinds of people would you pick for teachers? 56/Y

C. What would you change about the ways of running the school, and rules about how the students should behave in school? 57/Y

D. What else would you change? 58/Y

69. Have you seen any people on TV -- like actors, entertainers, announcers, or commentators -- that you would (like/have liked) to have as a teacher in your school?

Yes (ASK A & B)	1	59/Y
No.	2	
Don't know.	X	

IF YES, ASK A&B

A. Who is that? (IF CAN'T NAME, PROBE: Please describe him. What does he or she do on TV?) 60/Y

B. Why would you like to have (him/her) as a teacher? 61/Y

---

*70. What kind of work do you want to do as an adult? (IF RESPONDENT SAYS SAME AS DOING NOW, ASK: What kind of work is that?) 62/Y

---

71. What kind of work do you really expect or think you'll do as an adult? 63/Y

76-4 77-0 78-1 79-2 80-3

DECK 04

SK EVERYONE

w we have some background questions and we'll be through.

2. How old were you on your last birthday? ________years old 4-5/YY

F NEGRO, SKIP TO Q. 74

3. What is your predominant national background (other than American)? CODE AS MANY AS APPLY

English, Scotch, Welsh, English-Canadian, Australian, New Zealand	1	6/Y
Irish	2	
German, Austrian, Swiss, Scandinavian (Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland)	3	
Italian, French, French-Canadian, Belgian	4	
Polish, Russian, Lithuanian or other Eastern Europe	5	
Mexican, Puerto Rican, Latin American	6	
Other (SPECIFY)	7	
I'm not sure	X	

---

74. Were any of the following people born outside the United States: INCLUDE PUERTO RICO AS OUT OF U.S. WHEN YOU GET A "YES" SKIP TO Q. 75.

	Yes	No	Don't Know	
A. You, yourself	1	2	X	7/Y
B. Father or mother	1	2	X	8/Y
C. Grandparents	1	2	X	9/Y
D. Great-grandparents	1	2	X	10/Y

---

75. Now I would like you to rate yourself as above average, about average, or below average on some of the things that you do and some of the things that you are -- (in intelligence) Would you say you are above average, average, or below average? ASK B-E.

	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Don't Know	
A. In intelligence	1	2	3	X	11/Y
B. In trustworthiness	1	2	3	X	12/Y
C. In willingness to work hard	1	2	3	X	13/Y
D. In good looks	1	2	3	X	14/Y
E. As a conversationalist	1	2	3	X	15/Y

---

76. Do you enjoy doing things more when you are with a group of people, or more when you're just with one other person, or more when you are by yourself?

More with group	1	16/Y
With one other person	2	
More by self	3	
Don't know	X	

(OPTIONAL)

77. What is your religion?

Protestant (ASK A). . . .	1	17/Y
Catholic.	2	
Jewish.	3	
Other (SPECIFY)	4	
None.	5	

A. IF PROTESTANT: What denomination is that? ____________________________

(OPTIONAL)

78. About how often would you say you attend church or synagogue?

Once a week or more . . .	1	18/Y
Once or twice a month . .	2	
Few times a year or less.	3	
Never	4	

ASK ABOUT MAIN EARNER. IF MAIN EARNER RETIRED OR DECEASED, ASK IN PAST TENSE.

79. A. What kind of work (does/did) the main earner do? (IF VAGUE, PROBE: What (does/did) he actually do on this job?)

Occupation:______________________________________ 19/Y

B. In what kind of business or industry is that? (IF VAGUE, PROBE: What does that (firm/organization/agency) make or do?)

Industry:____

ASK Q. 80 OF ADULTS ONLY

80. What is the highest grade you completed in school?

No schooling.	1	20/Y
Less than 8th grade . . .	2	
Graduated 8th grade . . .	3	
Some high school.	4	
High school graduate or passed equivalence test	5	
Some technical school . .	6	
Some college.	7	
College graduate.	8	
Graduate work	9	

K Q. 81 OF ADULTS ONLY. IF TEENAGER, INTERVIEWER ESTIMATE INCOME.

1. What was the total income of all members of your household last year -- I mean the income from wages of everyone in the household and from anything else, before taxes. Just tell me the letter on this card. HAND RESPONDENT PINK CARD, SIDE B.

A. Under $2,000	1	21/Y
B. $2,000-$2,999.	2	
C. $3,000-$3,999.	3	
D. $4,000-$4,999.	4	
E. $5,000-$5,999.	5	
F. $6,000-$7,499.	6	
G. $7,500-$9,999.	7	
H. $10,000-$14,999. . . .	8	
I. $15,000 or more. . . .	9	
Refused (ESTIMATE) . .	X	

---

2. Finally, may I have your name and telephone number in case my office wants to make sure I've been here.

Name: ______________________________

Phone: ______________

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. (You have been very helpful.)

Time interview ended: ______________ AM PM

Date of Interview: ______________

22- 23- 24- 25-

Total length of interview: __________ mins.

Respondent's Sex:

Male	1	26/
Female	2	

Respondent's race:

White	1	28/
Negro	2	
Other(SPECIFY)	3	

Employment status of R (IF FEMALE ADULT):

Employed	1	27/
Unemployed	2	

Respondent's Address:

Sampling Unit (S.U.)No.: __________

Interviewer's Signature: ______________________________

29-	30-	31-	32-	33-	34-	35-	36-	37-	38-

76-4 77-0 78-1 79-2 80-4

APPENDIX C*

AUDIENCE PREFERENCES FOR "REALITY" OR "FANTASY" IN MASS MEDIA FARE: SOME ATTITUDE DATA FROM EAST HARLEM RESIDENTS

One of the significant questions in the mass media is whether people want to be educated by the media or entertained, or to put it another way: whether they prefer media fare about their reality or about their fantasies. Do poor people prefer TV programs about other poor people or would they rather be diverted by programs about the rich? Similarly, do non-white viewers want programs about white people, non-white people, or with integrated performers and characters?

Obviously, people's preferences are not quite as dichotomous or as simple as these questions suggest; sometimes they want reality, sometimes fantasy. Moreover, they may like a program regardless of the color of its characters and actors; it may tap demands or needs that have nothing to do with race. But the questions are worth asking, and when Leroy Miller trained a group of East Harlem teenagers to become interviewers in the summer of 1966, the schedule with which they interviewed included a number of questions in which people were given a choice of two TV programs, one oriented toward reality, one toward fantasy. The data were coded and tabulated by Mrs. Miller, aided by Center funds, and although it is dangerous to generalize from hypothetical questions asked of a small sample, the answers are nevertheless interesting and illustrative. This paper describes the questions and how they were answered by a sample of 276 adults, selected at random by the interviewers, 125 Negroes (85 men, 90 women) and 101 Puerto Ricans (39 men, 62 women).

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The questions were introduced: "If you could choose between two programs, which would you watch?" Then, 12 questions were read, requiring an either-or choice, as follows:

1. "A story about people like you and your family, OR
   a story about people that are quite different from
   you and your family?"

Sixty per cent of the respondents preferred programs about different people, only 52 per cent of the Negroes, but 73 per cent of the Puerto Ricans. Negro women wanted to hear about different people more than Negro men (61 per cent to 44 per cent) but among Puerto Ricans, it was just the opposite; 76 per cent of the men but only 71 per cent of the women opted for the different people.

2. "A story about people that live the way you do, OR
   a story about people that have adventures of various
   kinds?"

This question got at the choice between reality and fantasy more directly, and more chose adventure, as one might expect: 74 per cent of the sample altogether, 70 per cent of Negroes but 79 per cent of Puerto Ricans. In each case, women chose adventure somewhat more than men, 72 per cent to 68 per cent among Negroes, 80 per cent to 78 per cent among Puerto Ricans.

3. "A story about poor people, OR
   a story about rich people?"

If stories about the rich provide fantasy to poor people, then the sample was interested more in reality, 64 per cent choosing stories about poor people; 69 per cent of the Negroes, but only 56 per cent of the Puerto Ricans. Among the Negroes, men preferred poor people more than women (73 per cent to 65 per cent); among Puerto Ricans, it was just the opposite, 59 per cent of the women, but only 50 per cent of the men choosing stories about poor people. If one assumes (and cross-tabulation can check the assumption) that Negroes are poorer than Puerto Ricans, then the better off want stories about yet better off people. The sexual differences are also interesting, and there may be a pattern. My hunch is that Negro women are more mobile than Negro men, and Puerto Rican men more than Puerto Rican women, mobility meaning here both socio-economic and physical; ability to get out of the ghetto at least part of the time. If these assumptions hold, the data would suggest that the more mobile sometimes prefer stories about the rich, and about people that (as in 1. above) are different.

4. "A story about a neighborhood like this one, OR a story about a fancy neighborhood?"

This question repeats 3 to some extent, though it asks about a poor and rich neighborhood, not people. A small majority, 53 per cent, wanted to hear about the poor neighborhood, 62 per cent of the Negroes, but only 40 per cent of the Puerto Ricans. Sixty-four per cent of Negro women and 60 per cent of Negro men chose the story about a neighborhood "like this one;" 45 per cent of Puerto Rican women, but only 33 per cent of Puerto Rican men did likewise. In other words, two thirds of the Puerto Rican men were interested in the fancy neighborhood. This question may tap the feelings toward the local neighborhood more than economic differences, however, and one might expect women to prefer the local situation, because women are usually interested in their own neighborhood more than men.

5. "A story about the life and adventures of a family like those here, OR a story about the life and adventures of a white family?"

This question taps the attitude toward "white television," and the data diverge. Seventy-one per cent prefer a story about "a family like those here," 81 per cent of Negroes, but only 53 per cent of Puerto Ricans. Negro women outpolled men here slightly, 83 per cent to 80 per cent, but Puerto Rican women were twice as interested as Puerto Rican men in stories about a local, i.e. non-white family, 32 per cent of the Puerto Rican men, but 65 per cent of the women wanting the story about the local family.

6. "A story with Negro (Puerto Rican for Puerto Rican respondents) actors OR a story with white actors?"

This question deals with white television once more, and 75 per cent wanted "their own," 77 per cent of Negroes, 71 per cent of Puerto Ricans. Negro women were more interested in nonwhite actors than men, 80 per cent to 74 per cent; and Puerto Rican women even more so. Eighty per cent of them preferred Puerto Rican actors, as compared to only 56 per cent of Puerto Rican men.

7. "A daytime serial about a Negro (Puerto Rican) family, OR a daytime serial about white families?"

Once more, respondents preferred their own group, 85 per cent wanting a serial about Negro or Puerto Rican families, 88 per cent of Negroes, 80 per cent of Puerto Ricans. Negro women once again preferred their own group more than men, 92 per cent to 84 per cent; among Puerto Ricans, there was no sex difference, 81 per cent of men, 80 per cent of women preferring the Puerto Rican serial.

8. "A story that has only white or only Negro (Puerto Rican) actors, OR a story with actors of all races?"

If the respondents chose nonwhite over white TV, they also chose integrated over segregated TV, and by large margins. Eighty-eight per cent opted for integration, 86 per cent of Negroes, 91 per cent of Puerto Ricans. Negro women were more interested in integration than men, 90 per cent to 82 per cent; among Puerto Ricans, there was no sexual difference to speak of, 92 per cent for men, 90 per cent for women.

9. "A story about the problems that people like you have OR a story about people who have no problems whatsoever?"

This is the first of a set of reality-fantasy questions along the line of problems, but once again, people wanted the reality. Seventy per cent preferred stories about people with problems like theirs, 79 per cent of Negroes, though only 58 per cent of Puerto Ricans. Negro men (who are commonly thought to have more problems) chose the first alternative more often than Negro women, 83 per cent to 75 per cent; Puerto Rican women chose it more often than men, 67 per cent to 43 per cent. In other words, 57 per cent of the Puerto Rican men wanted a story about people without problems, or to put it another way, were ready to choose stories about people without problems.

10. "A story that told about how sick drug addicts and winos are, OR a story that told about the bad things winos and addicts do to people who live near them?"

This question can be analyzed on at least two levels. At one level, it taps preference for stories about deviants versus stories about their victims; at another, it asks people to describe reality in terms of pathology or morality. The data show that 65 per cent chose the first alternative, 77 per cent of Negroes but only 48 per cent of Puerto Ricans. Negro women favored the pathological description more than men, 81 per cent to 71 per cent respectively; and Puerto Rican women even more so than Puerto Rican men, for 61 per cent of the former but only 28 per cent of the latter chose the pathology story. Negroes are thus more willing to sympathize with the victim; Puerto Rican men very little - or perhaps they are more concerned with neighborhood safety.

> 11. "A story that told other people how difficult life was on this block, OR a story that told only about the nice things on this block?"

This question seeks to find out whether people wanted others to hear about their reality, or to have a pretty picture of it instead. Here, the respondents were divided. Altogether, 55 per wanted to tell others about the difficulties, 62 per cent of the Negroes, but only 43 per cent of the Puerto Ricans. Negro women wanted to report difficulties less often, 53 per cent as compared to 73 per cent of the men; Puerto Rican women wanted to report difficulties more often than men, 49 per cent as compared to 33 per cent.

> 12. "A news program that tells you what goes on in this neighborhood, OR a news program that tells you what goes on in other parts of the city?"

Evidently people do not need the mass media for neighborhood news, only 23 per cent choosing the neighborhood program. There were no differences between ethnic groups or between sexes, 23 per cent of Negroes and Puerto Ricans 23 per cent of Negro men and women; 22 per cent of Puerto Rican men, and 24 per cent of Puerto Rican women choosing the neighborhood alternative. This is considerably fewer than those who choose, as in 4 above, a story about their own neighborhood rather than a fancy one.

CONCLUSIONS

Not much empirical weight can be put on one set of hypothetical questions asked of one group of New Yorkers, but the data suggest there is a clear preference for stories about one's own circumstances and people, particularly among Negroes. Given a choice between white TV and black TV, they choose black TV, but given a choice between segregation and integration, they choose the latter. We should have asked a question about segregated vs integrated stories, rather than just actors, but we forgot to do so.

Clearly, this set of respondents preferred stories about adventure rather than about the everyday, but they prefer stories about poor people to rich people, and about people with problems rather than those without. In each case Negroes opted for "their own" more than Puerto Ricans. They also wanted the outside world to know of their own reality; Puerto Ricans were more often in favor of telling people "nice things." And they want difficulties described in terms of pathology, not harsh moral judgment, although the Puerto Ricans prefer the judgmental solution more often. The sexual breaks are quite clear; Negro women are more interested in stories about people other than themselves than are Negro men; Puerto Rican men are more interested in such stories than Puerto Rican women.

What I find most interesting is that the data seem to question the escape theory, that people want to use the media to escape their condition - at least in response to hypothetical questions. If the escape theory held, data should show large majorities in favor of stories about the rich, the fancy neighborhood, the white population, the people without problems etc., but just the opposite happens; people want more stories about people and conditions like their own. If, as I assume, Negroes are poorer than Puerto Ricans and if Negro men and Puerto Rican women are less mobile than their spouses, the data suggest that the worse off you are, the more you want stories about people like yourself; the better off you are, and the more you can maneuver in the outside world, the more you prefer stories about the different, the adventurous, the rich and the white, the fancy neighborhood and the people without problems.

Moreover, some of the conclusions drawn from questions about preference seem to be supported by data on actual TV use. When people were asked to name their favorite type of program, 28 per cent picked comedy shows, 17 per cent news, and 16 per cent mystery stories. The first preference is toward fantasy, obviously, but news is the second most often mentioned favorite, and we do not really know whether people use comedy and mystery shows - or any other - for fantasy needs, or to test reality, or to provide models for aspirations. Also, they must choose their favorites from what is available and little is available in the way of stories about their own condition and with integrated casts. Incidentally, day-time serials were the least favorite, even among women, and were reported as the least watched program as well; 75 per cent (59 per cent of Negro women, 79 per cent of Puerto Rican) reporting they have not watched them. Given the high preference for day time serials about a Negro or Puerto Rican family (see question 7), it is understandable why they do not watch the available serials - although it may also be that they simply lack the time to watch in the afternoon. (It is also possible that they do not want to admit watching serials, but unlike most interview schedules, Leroy Miller's did not force people to express choices between high and low culture programs; all the program types described in the question were popular ones.)